

Old ROME and LONDON  
**COMPARED,**

The First  
In its full Glory,  
And the Last  
In its Present State.

By which it plainly Appears,  
That *LIPSIUS* and *VOSSIUS* are Egre-  
giously Mistaken, in their Over-stretched,  
Fulsome, and Hyperbolical *Account* of Old  
ROME;

AND

That LONDON, as it is at Present,  
Exceeds it much in its *Extent*, *Populousness*  
and many other *Advantages*.

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The Second Edition.

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To which is Added,  
A *Comparison* between the Beauties, &c.  
of Old ROME and LONDON.

---

By a Person of Quality.

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L O N D O N:

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TO  
HIS EXCELLENCY  
*Thomas* EARL  
OF

*Wharton.* &c.

Lord Lieutenant of Her Ma-  
jesty's Kingdom of IRE-  
LAND.

MY LORD,

**T**HO' I have not the Honour of be-  
ing Known to YOUR EX-  
CELLENCY, I pre-  
sume however to make this Humble Ad-  
dress to You, being fully satisfy'd, by com-  
mon Fame and my own particular Friends,  
that YOUR EXCELLENCY  
has a particular Regard for any Thing  
that tends to the Glory of GREAT  
BRITAIN, which is the Drift of  
this Work. Where I prove demonstrably  
against the Sentiments of some most emi-  
nent Authors, that LONDON (the  
Me-

Metropolis of this great and famous I-  
SLAND does far exceed OLD  
ROME, so celebrated for her vast Ex-  
tent, Beauty, and Populousness. I hope  
therefore YOUR EXCELLEN-  
CY will prefer this my Address to the  
greatest Encomium that might be made  
of the Vertues of Your Ancestors, and the  
Antiquity of Your Illustrious Family; or  
to the most pompous Panegyrick, upon  
Your Signal Services both to the Church  
and State, before and after the late Re-  
volution, and Your firm and ardent Zeal  
in the successful Defence of the Diviue  
and National Rights, against all open  
and secret Enemies. 'Tis upon this  
Ground, MY LORD, that I make  
bold to Dedicate this Work to YOUR  
EXCELLENCY, as a real Proof of  
the great and profound Respect with  
which I am,

MY LORD,

YOUR EXCELLENCY'S

Most Humble and Most Obedient  
Servant De Souligné,

Grandson to Mr. du Plessis Mornay. first

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A  
COMPARISON

BETWEEN

R O M E

In its GLORY,

AND

L O N D O N

As it is at Present.

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C H A P. I.

*Concerning the Extent of the Two  
Cities, their Bounds, &c. against  
Lipsius, Vossius, &c.*

**W**E shall begin with the Ex-  
tent of these Two Fa-  
mous Cities, and therein  
first prove, against almost the whole  
B Tribe

Lipf. *Roma*  
*illustrata*, pag.  
 181, & 182.  
 Voss. *Obser-*  
*vationes Va-*  
*ria*, pag. 33.

Tribe of ancient and later Criticks and Antiquaries, more especially those Two Celebrated Modern ones, *Lipsius* and *Vossius*, and all their Adherers and Followers, (who pretend that Old *Rome* was a Hundred or a Hundred and Twenty Miles in Circumference) That Ancient *Rome* had but the same Compass which it now hath, and that the Walls of New *Rome* are the same, or built upon the self-same Foundations which they had in the Time of the Emperor *Aurelian*, when all the World owns *Rome* to have been largest and greatest, or at least that no considerable Alterations or Additions were given its Dimensions since that Time. And afterwards I shall shew the present Extent of the City of *London* to be of a much greater Compass about than ever the Dimensions of Old *Rome* amounted to. And both these shall be demonstrated by Arguments hitherto untouched by any.

To the present *Rome* there is at most but Thirteen Miles in Circumference allow'd, in which Compass are included all the Sinus's of the Walls, of which many considerable Parts

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Parts stretch out much more than others towards the Fields, and others towards the Body of the City, otherwise it would not perhaps be above Eight or Nine Miles in Circuit.

My Arguments to prove the Mistakes of those Authors, who held that Ancient *Rome* was greater than the Modern, are such as follow.

I. New *Rome* has the same Number of Mounts or Hills as Old *Rome*, and they bear still the same Names. Had *Rome* been as great as *Lipsius* and *Vossius* make it, (a Hundred or a Hundred and Twenty Miles about) Mount *Soracte*, mention'd by *Horace*, as not much distant from *Rome*, and within View of it, had been Part of the City.

*Vides ut alta stet nive candidum  
Soracte, &c.*

Besides Mount *Soracte*, *Rome* would certainly have included many other Mounts, besides the Seven and the Three little Hills mention'd in History, upon which the City was then seated, as it now is. For 'tis observed, that not far from *Rome* there

are Hills or Mounts in several Places higher than those of *Rome*, and Mount *Apennine* it self must have been in the Middle of *Rome*, had that City been a Hundred or a Hundred and Twenty Miles about: The very *Adriatick* Sea must border upon it, for it is not Twenty *German* Miles from the Modern *Rome* (which undoubtedly stands in the same Place where the Ancient did) to the nearest Part of that Sea.

Had the Ancient *Rome* been of that great Extent these Authors give it, *Otriculum*, *Tibur*, *Ostia*, and other Places, had been also Part of it, which are but One or Two short Journies distant from Modern *Rome*, to which add *Aricia* also, which stood but a Hundred and Sixty Furlongs from *Rome*.

*Tusculum*, *Tully's* Country House, is to this Day as far distant from *Rome* as it was of old; an Argument that *Rome* was of no greater Compass.

II. There's no Mention made in ancient History of any *Forum Publicum* or *Civile*, viz. any Market-Place, or Seat of Justice, or other Meeting Place for the Senators and Magistrates, out of those Bounds we speak of,

of; which must have been, if *Rome* had been of so great an Extent. But History tells us, they were all in that Part call'd *Pomerium Urbis*, which was of no farther Extent than the Walls of Modern *Rome*.

To this Day the very Places where those *Fora Publica* or *Civilia* were built, are easily found out within the Walls of *Rome*, and there are several that are not yet wholly ruin'd. They were in all but Eighteen or Nineteen, whereof one half were Market-places, and the other Meeting-places for Publick Affairs: Their Names I shall give an Account of in another Place. Had the City been much bigger, their Number had been greater; we have many more such Places in *London*, I mean Places for Publick or Civil Affairs, and Market-places: So that not only their Situation, but also their small Number, shews that *Rome* had not a very great Extent.

III. History does not mention any Publick Building of Note without the Walls, of what is now Modern *Rome*, I mean of any Cirque, Baths, Amphitheatre, Palace, or great Temple, or in short of any of those state-

ly Edifices which were so numerous, and added so much to the Glory of Old *Rome*. 'Tis true, some Anti-quaries mention a few Temples without the Walls, but most Authors taking no notice of them, it seems probable these Temples were not very considerable; and this Argument may be alledg'd in order to shew, that the Suburbs of *Rome* were not of any great Note, as I shall prove in its proper place.

IV. Nor does it appear that the number of Bridges over the *Tiber* were so much encreas'd at *Rome* under the Emperors, especially under *Aurelian*, or that there were any more than Seven or Eight as before; whereas had *Pagan Rome* been a Hundred and Twenty Miles about, or only a Hundred, there had been, in all likelihood, a greater Number of Bridges: 'Tis observable there are Nine or Ten in *Paris*, which for largeness is not to compare to Old *Rome*, (which is pretended by *Vossius* to have been Two Hundred times as big as the Modern) tho' the *Seine* be much a larger River than the *Tiber*, and consequently the Bridges o-

ver



ver it longer and more chargeable. The new *Ponte Molo*, which is out of *Rome*, but pretty near it, was so undoubtedly in the Time of the *Roman* Emperors, under the Name of *Pons Milvius*. *Rome* has to this Day the very same *Bridges*, or at least the Ruins of them in the same Places where they anciently stood, and they are as well within the New *Rome*, or as near it, as they were of Old, in or near the Ancient *Rome*.

V. We do not find moreover, that the *Romans* ever reckon'd above Fourteen Regions or Wards within their City, neither before nor after the Emperors, which Number is the same within the Walls of Modern *Rome*.

VI. So likewise they never reckon'd above Seven great *Cloacas*, or Common-shores, which, as the general Opinion is, were built in the Time of *Tarquinius Priscus*, King of the *Romans*, when the City was very inconsiderable, and answer'd to the Seven Hills of *Rome*; so that *Rome*, it seems, had not much encreas'd in Circuit since that King, but only in Number of Houses and Inhabitants.

VII. It had been a Folly to build such a vast City, as they pretend, upon such a pitiful River as the *Tiber* was, in a barren Ground, and without the Neighbourhood of a good Sea-Port.

VIII. The *Roman* Historians, such as *Publius Victor*, *Donatus*, *Panvinus*, *Rufus*, &c. confess that there were not Fifty Thousand Houses in it; some say there were only Forty One Thousand, but *Lipsius* and others reckon Forty Six Thousand. Amongst these Houses there were about Seventeen or Eighteen Hundred *Domus* or Palaces for the Senators, &c. the rest being call'd *Insulae*, and were inhabited by meaner Persons.

These Observations are so much the more weighty, in that the ancient *Roman* Historians have been so particular in their Account of the most valuable Things of this City, as to mention the Number of their Ovens, publick Granaries, Fountains, Cisterns, Groves, Stews, &c. in so much that if there had been more Bridges, Regions, Hills, *Fora publica*, fine Temples, or stately Edifices

ces without the Walls, 'tis not likely that they would have pass'd them by in silence.

In the History of *Augustus* we read that he had posted in the *Trans-tiberine* Region, which was one of the Suburbs of *Rome*, Two Cohorts of Soldiers, in order to put out the Fire in all Parts of the Town, and to suppress popular Tumults upon all Occasions. I ask how that could be done, had *Rome* been so vast, when that Region, where those Two Cohorts were, was in the very Skirts of the City? 'Tis the same Case, as if Two Companies, of Two or Three Hundred Men each, were quarter'd in *Westminster*, to put out the Fires, and quell the Seditions which might happen at *Southwark* or *Wapping*; only with this difference, that *Rome* being greater (if these magnifying Authors speak the Truth) the Soldiers must have been harder put to it, by reason of their Remoteness, or rather they must have been of no use, it being impossible for them either to suppress Seditions, or to extinguish Fire in Places so remote from their Quarters, and at this rate

rate where was *Augustus's* Wisdom?

'Tis observable besides that *Rome* (according to *Pliny*) consisted but of Two Hundred and Thirteen Streets in the Time of the Emperor *Trajan*, which does not quadrate very much with that Vastness attributed to it by our magnifying Authors. I confess he mentions Two Hundred and Seventy Three *Compita*, either *trivia* or *quadrivia*, that is, cross Ways divided into Three or Four Branches, because there are commonly more cross Ways in a Town than Streets, because every Street has Two Ends, which serve to make cross Ways; but what is that in Comparison to *London*, which has Thousands of them? I own moreover, that *Publius Victor* gives Old *Rome* Four Hundred and Twenty Three Streets, which however bears no proportion with that Extent *Lipsius* and *Vossius* gives it; our French Authors reckon no less than Eight Hundred Streets in *Paris*, which falls much short of *London*, that contains some Thousands, as well as cross Ways.



A great Sign, that there is no Footstep to be found in ancient History to convince us that *Rome* was greater, is, That all the ancient Maps don't make it greater than it is at this Day; the reason is, that though the Authors of them were as much in the dark, as to the Greatness of it, as *Lipsius* and *Vossius*, and believ'd it to be greater than they represented, yet they could not form a distinct Idea of it.

We are told indeed, that the City of *Rome* had no less than Thirty Gates, and by some Thirty Seven, with as many great Roads leading to them, but that is far from proving so prodigious an Extent as *Lipsius* and *Vossius* give it, and makes rather against than for them. Was *London* surrounded with Walls, it must needs have a Hundred Gates at least, especially if there were so many void Places as *Rome* had. In the City of *London*, within the Walls only, we reckon Seven great Gates, besides Two or Three Posterns, though there be little above half the City that has any Gates at all; for there is none on the River side, and from  
*Ludgate*

## A Comparison between

*Ludgate* or *Algate* as far as the River; now the City of *London*, within the Walls, is hardly the Eighth part of the Extent or Houses of all *London*. The Gates of the City of *Rome* were for the most part at a small distance from each other. 'Tis a thing well known to be Arbitrary, and at the Will of the Governors, to have fewer or more Gates to a City: These may either place them near one another, or further off, as they please. Had *Rome* been Fifty Miles about, it might have had Two Hundred, or at least a Hundred Gates, as *Thebes* had in the Fable. 'Tis probable many Consuls, in the time of their Consulship, pleas'd themselves with making unnecessary new Gates and High-ways, only to perpetuate their Memory in giving them their own Names, or to go a nearer way to their Country Houses. Hence the Names of *Via Cassia*, *Valeria*, *Numicia*, *Aurelia*, *Cornelia*, &c. The Gates themselves bore the same Names, as *Porta Valeria*, *Numicia*, &c.

*Lipsius*, in his *Roma Illustrata*, quotes *Lampridius*, who tells an extravagant

travagant Story in order to shew the vast Extent of the City of *Rome*, viz. that the Emperor *Heliogabalus*, or *Elagabalus*, as he is sometimes stil'd, order'd all the Cobwebs in the City to be gather'd together, which were afterwards found to weigh Ten Thousand Pound weight. But I answer, If the thing be true, 'tis like *Heliogabalus*, but not at all honourable to *Rome*, nor does it conclude any thing else, but that the Citizens were poor and nasty, and the Houses very ill kept, and not well inhabited. Others say it was the Emperor *Varius* who did it, however I hardly believe that there could be gather'd Five Hundred Pound weight of Cobwebs in *London*, which is a sign of its Cleanness, Populoufness and Wealth, although it is far more extended than Old *Rome* was, as shall be shewn hereafter.

As to the Walls of *Aurelian*, pretended to have been Fifty Miles about, according to *Lipsius*, or Sixty, according to *Vossius*; *Donatus* says they were the same in Compass that are extant now, and *Publius Victor*, a contemporary Author, and very

very exact, relates the whole Sum to which each Region of *Rome* did amount, as measur'd by the Geometers of those Times, and says that in all, every one of the Fourteen Regions being measur'd and taken apart, its whole Compass did not make up all together Forty Three Miles, how then could the Circumference of all taken together amount to so much?

*Olimpiodorus* also observes, that it was measur'd in the Time of *Honorius*, (between whose Time and that of *Aurelian's* there were only a Hundred and Fifty Years) and says, that if there had been any Alteration made in the Walls of the City, that is, if they had fallen, or been broken, Care had been taken to repair them; for between these Two Emperors several other wise Emperors did reign, who would not have failed to have caused them to be mended. *Rome* indeed was plunder'd by the *Goths*, but as *Bozins*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and other Authors report, it was only an Invasion, wherein they did not any considerable Damage to the Publick Structures; and 'tis certain that *Honorius* caus'd all the necessary Reparations



rations to be made about the Walls, as may be seen by the Inscriptions and other Monuments, which shew plainly that they are still the same Walls of *Aurelian*.

This is the Opinion of *Donatus* as quoted by *Nardini*, who subscribes to it. They affirm, that they are the same Walls of *Aurelian*; and that *Constantine* and *Honorius* made some little Alterations, without diminishing them. What *Aurelian* did to the Walls was only making some Additions to them, by inclosing the *Campus Martius* and the *Transtiberine Region* within them, and so joining 'em to the rest of the City. And the present Walls of *Rome* are (as was said before) either the very same as to the greatest Part, or at least of the same Extent with those so enlarg'd by *Aurelian*.

*Dionysius Halicarnassensis* compar'd *Athens* to *Rome* for the Bigness, which he ought not to have done, if he had thought *Rome* so big as our Authors do.

Notwithstanding these Arguments, back'd and enforc'd with the best and most sufficient Authorities, *Lipsius* assures us that *Rome* had Suburbs  
Fif-

Fifteen Miles in length, and *Voffius* infinuates that its Suburbs took up the Compafs of Seventy Miles; which together with its Fifty or Fifty Two Miles pretended Circumference of the Walls of the City, made up a Hundred and Twenty, or a Hundred and Twenty Two. But all thefe Imaginations may be eafily confuted.

I. Had there been fuch large Suburbs, an Account would have been given (as before faid) of fome *Fora publica* in thofe Suburbs, of their Temples, or other great Edifices, as Baths or Amphitheatres.

II. The Names of thofe Suburbs would have been taken notice of, fince Hiftorians took Notice of the leaft Things. If Mention be made in Hiftory of One Suburb which made One of the Fourteen Regions (or Wards) of *Rome*, I mean the *Tranf-tiberina Regio*, how come the reft to be paffed by, if they were fo confiderable?

III. Amongft the *Roman* Tribes there's but One taken Notice of under the Name of *Suburbana*, which was included in the *Tranf-tiberina Regio*, and walled about with the reft,

rest, as well as *Campo Marzo*, where now stands *Urbs Leonina*. Had the other Suburbs been greater than the City, or even something considerable, 'tis like there had been more than One *Tribus Suburbana*; since there were Three *Urbana's* in the City, and another in the *Transtiberina Regio*: If this *Regio* or Ward alone (altho' of a little Extent) had One, how much more should all the other Suburbs, if they had been great, have had some Tribes?

IV. 'Tis plain the City was more than big enough to contain many more People than it had, without building of Suburbs. *Vossius* himself seems to be of that Opinion, when he says there were within the Walls of Old *Rome* an innumerable multitude of Noblemens Country Houses, said to be in the Suburbs; *Innumera Nobilium Villæ intra Mœnia erant, quæ Suburbanæ vocabantur*, according to *Seneca*, *Lucan*, and *Aristides*: Which, if true, seems to prove also that the Suburbs were walled about with the City, as well as the *Transtiberina Regio*, which was reputed to be a Suburb. So that there were no  
C other

other Suburbs without the Walls, and, as we shall make it appear afterwards, Two Thirds of the City were empty.

'Tis not to be doubted, but that in the Neighbourhood of *Rome* there were many fine Seats, Gardens and Orchards, of the principal Citizens, which made them look like so many great Boroughs: Nor do I question but that there were many goodly Towns and Villages at a small Distance from it, which some might look upon as Part of *Rome*, and call it so accordingly, even as *Vossius* tells us, pag. 4. of his *Observationes variae*, that some included under the Name of *Alexandria* the whole *Palus Meotis*, and under that of *Thebes* the whole Province in which it stood, as 'tis now said of the *Montferrat* wherein *Turin* stands, that it is but One City, because of its Populoufness.

'Tis undoubtedly for that Reason, viz. of the Boroughs and fine Seats that were near *Rome*, that *Pliny* speaks so, *Exspatiantia tecta multas addidisse Urbes*; that is, That the Houses which were spread up and down



down about *Rome* did add many Towns to the City; he does not call them Suburbs. And *Dionysius* also said, "That all the Places inhabited without the City were without Walls, and it would be in vain for a Man, considering of them, to inquire into the Greatness of the Town, and that he would hardly find where it begins or ends, so near do the Suburbs approach and join to the City, and make it look as if it were of an immense Length.

*Omnia loca circa Urbem habitata sine Mœnibus esse, in qua si quis intuens, magnitudinem Urbis inquirere velit, frustra eum fore, & hasurum ubi desinat Urbs ubi incipiat, adeo Suburbana inquit ipsæ Urbi adherent & innexa sunt, & speciem immensa longitudinis exhibent spectanti.*

*Lipsius* quotes all those Authors, Pag. 182. as also *Aristides* the Rhetorician, who lived in the Emperor *Adrian's* Time, who said, "*Rome* was so big, that in what Part of it soever a Man might be, it was the same thing as if he were in the middle. But this is only a Figure of Rhetorick called *Hyperbole*. A Man could not think himself, when he was out of the Walls of *Rome*, to be in the Middle of the City, since he could see there no *Fora Publica* or *Civilia*, nor Baths, nor Temples, nor any great Struct-

*Tantam Romanam esse ut in quacunque parte quis existeret, nihil impediat, & in medio eum esse.*

## A Comparison between

ure, for these Things are generally in the chiefest Part of a City, and were so at *Rome*.

As for the other Authors quoted, *Pliny* himself reckons only Two Hundred and Thirteen Streets in *Rome*; and by what he tells us, *Lib. 36. Cap. XV.* we see that *Rome* could not

*Vidimus Urbem totam cingi domibus Principum Caij & Neronis, & hujus quidem ne quid deesset aurea.*

be so extraordinary big: "We have seen (says he) the whole City surrounded by the Houses of *Caius* and *Nero*, and even, that nothing might be wanting, the fine Palace of the latter was of Gold, or gilded over.

And *Dionysius* compared *Athens* to *Rome*, as is already said: So that when they spoke so, they did not understand the same thing which *Lipsius* and *Vossius* understand by their Words, but only that *Rome* was a very big City; and indeed in their Time there was none bigger, or so big in the World, at least that were known to them; and its Bigness was so much the more surprising, in that they saw the River was pitiful, the Soil about *Rome* very ungrateful, and the Air heavy. This made them wonder, that in so little a time it should have grown so very large.

If

If those Authors could have seen the Length of *London*, from *Lambeth* or *Kensington* to *Blackwall*, with those prodigious Spaces full of Houses, and all joining or contiguous to the City, in Form of very great Cities, they would have been struck with far greater Amazement.

The *Roman* High-ways were so narrow, according to their own Historians, (as I shall shew in its proper Place) that from thence it may appear the Town could not be very big, for the widest of them were fit for the drawing only of Two Carts abreast.

*Vossius* himself owns, that *Aristeas*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Menander* the Rhetorician, do make *Alexandria* bigger than *Rome*, altho' he acknowledges at the same time, that *Diodorus* did not allow above Three Hundred Thousand Souls to *Alexandria*.

And *Vossius* is inconsistent with himself, as to the excessive Bigness which he gives to *Rome*, and seems to agree with us, when he owns that the *Augures & Sacrorum Antistites* *semper voluere, ut universa Roma septem contineretur Montibus*. That is

Pag. 18.

to say, " That the Augurs and other  
 " Priests desir'd always that all *Rome*  
 " should be contained within the Se-  
 " ven Mounts. But indeed after-  
 wards he endeavours to overthrow  
 that Concession, by a strange Ficti-  
 on of his own Brain, thus, " The  
 " Compass of the City and the Walls  
 " increasing, the Mounts did increase  
 " also, and did extend their Limits a  
 " great way off, because their Augurs  
 " and Priests did add several little  
 " Hills to every Mount, as so many  
 " Dependencies of them, so that they  
 " were all called by the Names of those  
 " Mounts.

Pag. 4.  
*Crescente*  
*Pomerio &*  
*Mœniorum*  
*amplitudine,*  
*ipſos quoque*  
*creviſſe mon-*  
*tes, & quam*  
*latiſſime fini-*  
*um ſuorum*  
*protuliſſe Ter-*  
*minos, ſingu-*  
*lis quippe*  
*Montibus*  
*Augures &*

*Sacerdotes*  
*complures adjecere Colles, qui velut appendices iſdem accederent,*  
*ita ut uno eodemque nomine omnes cenſerentur.*

He tells you the Reason why their  
 Priests did it, *viz.* because they us'd  
 to make their Processions about  
 Mounts, and did also there study the  
 Flight of the Birds, from whence  
 they made their Prognostications,  
 which did bring them in a great deal  
 of Profit, by the Superstition and  
 foolish Credulity of the People. I  
 shall shew by his own Words hereaf-  
 ter what prodigious Addition he thinks  
 they



they made to the Seven Mounts, I may well call it prodigious, since he says that *Rome* within the Walls was Sixty Miles about. Is it not a wonderful Fecundity that Mounts should produce Hills, whensoever the Priests would have it so. By this means, instead of Seven Mounts and Three Hills, which were really in *Rome*, and are still, they might have included Hundreds; for 'tis certain that there are a great many more at some Miles Distance from *Rome*: Why did not they include Mount *Soraete*, and that Hill on which stands the Monastery of *Benedictines* near *Rome* where Cardinal *Howard* was, and several others.

History mentions only Three Hills in the Compass of Old *Rome*, viz. *Collis Hortulorum*, *Vaticanus*, and *Janiculum*, which are included also at present within the Walls of Modern *Rome*, under other Names. The Names of the Seven Mounts are so well known, that it is almost superfluous to recite them, viz. *Palatinus*, *Capitolinus*, *Aventinus*, *Cælius*, *Esquilinus*, *Viminalis*, and *Quirinalis*; however 'tis plain that their Priests

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did

did not add, as *Vossius* says, several other Hills to every Mount; *Singulis Montibus complures adjecere Colles*, saith he, since there were but Three Hills and Seven Mounts in all.

*Vossius* owns also, in another Place, that the Ancient Authors do not give other Limits to *Rome* besides the Seven Mounts; but he says they understood it only of its *Pomærium*, that is, the chiefest Part, as comprehending the Palaces and Houses of the

Nobles, Senators and Knights\*. Who told him that it must be understood so? Or does he prove that the City ever was bigger in Compass than what the Modern *Rome* now is? He himself in another Place says, as we have seen already, that *Seneca*, *Lupcan* and *Aristides* said that there was an innumerable Multitude of Noble-mens Seats within the Compass of the Walls, which were called *Suburbanæ*, said to be in the Suburbs, because undoubtedly they were in the Skirts of the City, and not, as he says here, in the chiefest Part of it, *præcipua ejus Parte*.

So that it is evident, the Compass of Old *Rome*, within the Walls and Sub-

\*Pag. 14.  
Quando i-  
taque Urbem  
septem cir-  
cumscribi &  
contineri Col-  
libus scribunt  
Veteres, hoc de  
Pomario, id  
est, de præci-  
pua ejus intel-  
ligendum est  
parte, utpote  
qua Palatium  
& Atria com-  
prehenderet  
Nobilium, E-  
quitum, Sena-  
torum, &c.

Suburbs, was the same as is that of Modern *Rome*, and that they had no other Suburb so call'd, but the *Trans-tiberine* Region (or Ward) which was within the Walls.

Note, that Sir *William Petty* (pag. 14. of his *Essays of Political Arithmetick*) did not think that *Rome* without the Suburbs and within the Walls was ever so big as I make it; he thought it had Suburbs in the Plural Number, and gives it only Ten Miles Compass with their Suburbs, and to *London* only Nine, and yet he makes the People of Old *Rome* the Double of that of *London*, which are Two great Mistakes. He quotes Mr. *Chevreau*, who believ'd that there dy'd by the Plague in *Nero's* Time Three Hundred Thousand Souls in *Rome* in One Year, according to some *Roman* Authors. For my part, I can hardly believe that there ever was in *Rome* much above Three Hundred Thousand Souls or Inhabitants.

Doctor *Heylin* made Old *Rome* a great deal bigger, viz. of Fifty Miles Compass, and generally all the other *English* Authors I have read upon that Subject. *Vossius* confesses that the  
Circuit

Circuit of the Modern *Rome* is small, he gives it hardly Ten Miles; these  
 Voss. Pag. 10. Si neglectis are his Words, "If having no regard  
 am fractibus & laciniis, "to the Sinuosities of the Wall, you  
 Muri ambi- "take only the Circuit of it, you  
 tum persequeris, ne integra "shall not find Ten Miles, and even  
 quidem de- "hardly Seven, if you omit that Part  
 cem passuum "which is beyond the *Tiber*, where  
 continebit Mil- "there is no Wall.  
 lia, imo ne  
 septem qui-  
 dem, si omittas eam Partem qua est ad Tiberim, ubi nullus olim  
 Murus.

I must now here, for the Satisfaction of the Learned, or such as may not have the Books at hand, justify, by the proper Words of *Lipsius* and *Vossius*, what they say of the Bigness of Old *Rome*. The Words of *Lipsius*, in his *Roma illustrata*, (Revised by *A. Thyssius*, Printed at *London* in the Year 1698.) in English run thus.

P. 181, & 182. Liquet au- " 'Tis plain that *Rome* (says he) was  
 tem Romam "in a manner double, one walled a-  
 quasi dupli- "bout, and the other not, which  
 cem fuisse, n. "however surrounded the other on  
 nam clausam "all  
 muris, & al-  
 teram non  
 clausam, qua  
 tamen in Orbem circumjecta esset, & continentibus Edificiis instructa,  
 Illa habebat in ambitu 23 milliaria, hac 42 itaque totus ambitus  
 interioris & exterioris *Rome*, erat 42 Miliarium. Aurelianus vero  
 Muros sit ampliavit ut 50 prope Millia Murorum ejus ambitus te-  
 nerent, iste Urbis fuit ambitus, sed desit.



“ all Parts, and was as full of Houses  
 “ and Buildings compacted together,  
 “ as Towns usually are, and not scam-  
 “ bling as in Suburbs, (for I take this  
 to be the Sense of the Words *continen-*  
*tibus Edificiis instructa*) “ the first  
 “ was Twenty Three Miles in Com-  
 “ pass, the other Forty Two, so that  
 “ the whole Compass both of the in-  
 “ ward and outward *Rome* was Forty  
 “ Two Miles. But the Emperor *Au-*  
*relian* did so increase the Walls of  
 “ the City, that it was almost Fifty  
 “ Miles in Compass within the Walls,  
 “ such was the Compass of *Rome*,  
 “ ’till it came to decay.

And a little further he adds these  
 Words, “ We have seen (says he) *Romam du-*  
 “ hitherto a double *Rome* with its *plicem hactenus habuimus*  
 “ old and new Compass, there was a *veteri ambi-*  
 “ Third without Compass, by which *tu, & novo,*  
 “ I mean its Suburbs. This was also *est & tertia*  
 “ very great, according to the Idea *quadam sine*  
 “ which *Pliny* gives of it, when he *ambitu, &*  
 “ says, that the Houses which stretch’d *qua in Subur-*  
 “ into the Country added many *biis procurrit,*  
 “ *gens & Pli-*  
 “ Towns *nii imagine*  
 “ *ostendenda,*  
 “ *qui ait ex spa-*

*tiantia tecta multas addidisse Urbes. Plures, inquam, sunt Urbes &*  
*tot, quot Suburbia, qua Tibur, Otriculum, Ariciam, atque alio ex-*  
*currebant, sed maxime Ostiam & Mare versu, illuc vel ad 15 aut*  
*circiter Milliaria procedebant.*

“ Towns to *Rome*. There were  
 “ (saith he) added as many Towns  
 “ as there were Suburbs extending  
 “ towards *Tibur*, *Ocriculum*, *Aricia*,  
 “ and elsewhere, but especially *Ostia*,  
 “ and towards the Sea, that way they  
 “ reach’d as far as Fifteen Miles or  
 “ thereabouts.

By which Account of *Lipsius*, sup-  
 posing the other Suburbs of the same  
 Length, or thereabouts, the Com-  
 pass of *Rome*, both Town and Sub-  
 urbs, must have been above an Hun-  
 dred Miles.

Pag. 33. These are the Words of *Vossius* in  
*Componamus* his *Observationes Variæ*: “ Let us  
*Aream Urbis* “ compare (says he) the *Area* of the  
*Romane cum* “ City of *Rome* with the *Areas* of  
*areis duarum* “ the Two greatest Cities in the  
*maximarum* “ Christian World, *viz.* *Paris* and  
*Orbis Christi-* “ *London*; if the Measurers of them  
*ani Civita-* “ do not deceive us, those Two Ci-  
*tum, Londi-* “ ties join’d together take up as much  
*nensi nempe* “ Ground as comes almost to a Ger-  
*Et Parisio-* “ man Mile, or a Square of Six-  
*rum Urbe. Si* “ teen Thousand Paces. But the *A-*  
*Menfores non* “ rea  
*fallunt, dua i-*  
*sta Civitates* “  
*simul juncta,* “  
*aream infi-*  
*dent qua fere*  
*Leucam con-*  
*ficiat Germanicam, sive sedecim Millia passuum quadrata. Atqui*  
*Area Urbis Romana additis Suburbis, octodecies majus continebat*  
*Spatium, quod si Tractum Transiberinum addamus, plusquam vici-*  
*es major fuit Rome Area, ac erit illa quam prædictæ dua impleant*  
*Civitates.*

were  
owns  
nding  
ricia,  
Ostia,  
y they  
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rea

“ *rea* of the City of *Rome*, if we in-  
clude its Suburbs, contain’d a Space  
Eighteen times bigger, and if we  
add that Part of it which was be-  
yond the *Tiber*, the *Area* of the  
City of *Rome* was above Twenty  
times as big as that of *London* and  
*Paris* together.

Before, viz. pag. 10. he was of O-  
pinion that *Tractus Tiberinus* was but  
Three Miles about, the City being  
Seven Miles round, in all Ten Miles.  
He does not deny but that the *Tra-*  
*ctus Tiberinus* was the same under  
*Aurelian* as it is now, so that by this  
he gives but Three Miles Circuit to  
*London* and *Paris* join’d together.

But what he says in another Place  
is yet more surprising: “ If we con-  
sider (says he) Modern *Rome*, we  
shall find it does not contain the Two  
Hundredth Part of the Old City:  
Which is a stranger Assertion than  
the former, since he himself has own’d  
that Modern *Rome* is Nine or Ten  
Miles at least in Compass; and were  
it but Five Miles, Two Hundred  
times Five would make a Thousand:  
Now in the former Assertion he gives  
but a Hundred and Twenty Miles  
Circuit

Pag. 36.

*Ipsam vero  
hodiernam sē  
spectas Ro-  
mam, illa no  
ducentesi-  
mam quidem  
Urbis antiquae  
continet par-  
tem.*

Circuit to Old *Rome*, whereby it appears that Mr. *Vossius*, notwithstanding his great Learning, Erudition and Exactness in some things, is not always consistent with himself.

'Tis plain then that *London* (I mean, what is included within the Bills of Mortality) is far bigger than Old *Rome* was, since that was no larger than the Present City is, which every body owns not to be compar'd to *London*, which would take up a Square of Thirty Six Miles, if we include in it all its Extremities, such as *Blackwall* and Part of *Kensington*, (being within the Bills, and belonging to *St. Margarets Westminster*) and the Extremities of *Hackney, Shore-ditch, Islington, Newington, Lambeth, &c.* For it is evident, all these Spaces made in a perfect Square, such as *Vossius* makes Old *Rome* to have been, would make a Square of Thirty Six Miles, and so *London* would be at present Three times as big as Old *Rome* ever was.

If any Body ask how this could be, since we said before that some do allow Ten Miles, others Thirteen Miles Circumference to New *Rome*, which

is



is the same Compass with Old *Rome*?  
I answer, That from the Queen's  
House at *Kensington* to *Blackwall*  
there is above Nine Miles, now sup-  
posing *London* to be included in a  
perfect Square, as *Vossius* fancies Old  
*Rome* to have been, it would make  
Thirty Six Miles. I confess there  
would be a great many empty Spaces  
in this Square of *London*; but I shall  
prove, in the following Sheets, that  
there were as many empty Spaces  
proportionably in Ancient *Rome*,  
though not bigger than the Modern.  
Let thus much suffice to have said of  
the Extent of the Two Cities: Pro-  
ceed we now to the Second Head  
propos'd to be treated of in this Com-  
parison, viz. the Number of Inha-  
bitants, with which we shall begin  
the following Chapter.

## C H A P.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the Number of People in Rome,  
compared with the same in Lon-  
don.*

**W**E said already that the chief-  
est Question is to know,  
whether there might be as many In-  
habitants in Ancient *Rome* as there is  
in *London* at this Day, and not to  
know the utmost Extent of both Ci-  
ties; because that Extent depends  
upon the Fancy of a Prince, who  
may give what Compass he pleases  
to his Capital City; but it is not e-  
qually in his Power to render it ex-  
traordinarily populous. This depends  
upon the Nature of the Soil, its Good-  
ness or Fruitfulness; its advantagi-  
ous Situation, and good Air; upon  
its being fit for Trade, or actual dri-  
ving a good Trade; as also upon its  
having a good Sea-Port, One or  
more navigable Rivers, of a long  
Course, broad and deep, with the  
Flux and Reflux, and not subject to  
Tem-

Tempests. 'Tis requisite also that all sorts of Provisions be cheap, that it be the chief City of a powerful State, and the Seat of the Empire; that there be abundance of Manufactures, and all sorts of Arts flourishing; that there be no other Town in its Neighbourhood fitter for all these Things; that the Religion be proper to make a Nation flourish; that the Laws of the Government do secure the Liberty and Property of the Subjects, and encourage Propagation; that great Care be taken that Justice be impartially administred without great Fees; as also that Taxes upon the People be moderate; that Immorality be punish'd, and Virtue encouraged. 'Tis not enough that it should be the Capital City and Seat of the Empire, or of the chiefest Courts of Justice, or of an University, or the chiefest Place of Abode of Travellers or Students; for these Things are not comparable (as I shall shew) to the foresaid Advantages, especially that of a good Trade by Sea and Land, as also of Arts and Manufactures flourishing, which imploy an infinite Number of People, cause a Nation

D

to

to be laborious and induftrious, and do procure the Means to get and fpend much, by a continual Circulation of the Mony and other Effects of a Nation from hand to hand.

Now if we run thro' the forefaid Conditions requifite to make a Town extraordinary populous and rich, we fhall yet more plainly fee that *London* is much better qualify'd for it than Ancient *Rome* was; and confequently ought to be much more populous and rich. And if we examine all that has been faid in thefe refpects in the behalf of Ancient *Rome*, it will be plain, that Authors have been grofly miftaken in that Point; and that fuch a Number of People as they afcribe to *Rome* could not have fubfifted there. 'Tis not enough to get Children, as the Proverb fays, but we muft know befides how to maintain 'em.

'Tis certain that *Rome* was and is fituated in a barren Ground, and in an unhealthy Air. *Erat Cælo gravi objecta atque in sterili folo pofita*, as the Authors fay. That the Port of *Oftia* was never fit for a great Trade,  
that



that the *Tiber* does not flow nor ebb, that the same River is narrow, rapid, and sinuous or winding; that they are oblig'd to make Use of Horses to draw the Boats from *Ostia* to *Rome*, and from *Rome* upwards. These are prodigious Inconveniences, in subsisting such a vast Multitude of People as there is in *London*, and far from subsisting so many Millions of People as our Authors would have it. In these Respects *Rome* was just as it is at this Day, *viz.* as to its Climate, Soil, Air, River, and Seaport; excepting only that the Country was more populous, and better cultivated than it is now, because Popery (which destroys and makes desolate all Countries wherein it is profess'd) has reign'd there ever since its Rise.

I ask from whence *Rome* could get all the Materials, Provisions and Necessaries to form such a City as *London* is, and to maintain so vast a Number of Inhabitants as are therein?

If it be answer'd that they did for the most part come up by the River from the Sea, and down from the

Country by the same River, and the other small River called *Anio*, which discharges it self into the *Tiber*, and that some came also by Carts and Horses, as is done at *London*: This Answer will be absurd, because the Port of *Ostia* never was a good Sea-port, as already said, and could never serve but for small Boats, and that River is without Tide, as all other Rivers are in the Mediterranean, and full of Mud; so that *Vossius* was under a Mistake, when he said,

*Portus Ostiensis totius Orbis amplissimus erat.*

Pag. 181. *Tiberis ille Patet qui Urbem secat, latus circa eam 4 Fugera sive Pedes 400. profundus sic ut maximas Naves suscipiat & portet, &c.*

“ That the Port of *Ostia* was the largest Sea-port in all the World: As also *Lipsius*, when he says, “ That the *Tiber* was at *Rome* Four Hundred Foot broad, and so deep that the greatest Ships did ride and sail in it. Where have they taken such Notions? I confess that it was necessary for them to say so, since they will make *Rome* so populous, for otherwise it was impossible to subsist such a Multitude of People there. If that Sea-port had been good, Historians would have made mention of its Goodness; we should have known how it came to be spoil'd; and besides, it is likely that those who have been

been in Possession of *Rome* since, would have taken Care to preserve it. For *Rome* has ever since been the Head of a powerful Empire, either Temporal or Spiritual, altho' we must own that it has very much decay'd under the Papal Usurpation and Tyranny. 'Tis well known, that of all Men the Popes have been the most greedy of Gain, tho' never so sordid, and therefore they would not have neglected a thing of such Concern as the repairing and keeping that Port in Order, which might have afforded them a very great Revenue. If it had been very good before, why should it not be repaired, rather than to make such Expences as the last Pope did at *Nettuno* or *Anzo*, for a Sea-port, this lying further from *Rome*, and not near any River at all.

I confess *Vossius* does not say roundly, but rather insinuates that it was a good Sea-port; for otherwise, what signifies a large Port, if it be not good? Had it been a good Sea-port, the *Romans* would have kept some of their Fleet there; and the Ship of *Alexandria* that brought *St. Paul* from *Maltha* to those Parts,

(and must have been of some considerable Bulk, by the Number of Souls in it) would have come into the Port of *Ostia*, and not into that of *Puzzoli*; for their whole Business was at *Rome*, as appears by the History in the *Acts* of the Apostles, where 'tis related that he came from *Judea* to be cleared at *Rome* of the false Accusations of the *Jews*. That Ship, I say, would have come directly to *Ostia*, if the Port had been capable of admitting a Ship of that Bulk. But notwithstanding that,

Pag. 181.  
*Flumen op-  
 portunum quo  
 maritimi con-  
 ventus acci-  
 piantur.*

*Lipsius* says plainly that it was a very good Port. I do not deny but small Boats, and such like Vessels as they call *Felouques*, or *Lintres* in the *Latin* Tongue, may have come up to *Rome* anciently, as well as now, and even in great Numbers; but not so as to provide such a City as *London* is with all Necessaries. 'Tis incredible what prodigious quantities of Things are necessary for such a vast City. If there was nothing else but the Timber, and Fire-wood, where could they get enough for such a City, and how could they bring it to it?

It's



It's next to impossible that *Ostia* should have been a good Sea-port, by reason of the Dirt and Sand of that River; because the Southern Winds blowing there with such a Violence, as *Horace* somewhere tells us, did keep all the Mud and Dirt of the River there. It is that Mud and Sand, stopp'd by Violence of the Sea, that has bury'd many fine Buildings at *Rome*, which do not appear at present; and Part of those Two noble Columns of *Trajan* and *Antonine* was once cover'd in this manner.

Besides that, it must be known that the River was very remote from the greatest Part of the City; which, the larger it is suppos'd to have been, the Carriage of all sorts of Materials and Provisions, to all the Parts of it, must needs be dearer in proportion. For the *Tiber* did pass only through a little Part of *Rome*, the *Transtiberine* Region being not above the Twelfth Part of the whole. It was not like *London*, where the River runs almost through the middle, and by its Sinuosity is not remote from every Part of it, and therefore Materials and Provisions must needs have

Voss. Pag. 57.  
*Plinius testa-*  
*tur Romam*  
*Arcus for-*  
*mam, cujus*  
*Chorda esset*  
*Tiberis, red-*  
*didisse.*

been always so much the dearer at *Rome*. Now a Place, where such Things are constantly dear, cannot be so wonderfully populous. *Vossius* himself tells us, that according to *Pliny*, *Rome* had the Form of a Bow, whereof the *Tiber* was the String; and so consequently the greatest Part of the Town was very remote from the River. Add to it, that there were many Hills and high Places in *Rome*, which no doubt contributed also to make the same Things dearer, in respect of the Carriage, although they were not extraordinarily high.

No doubt but a good Part of the Materials and Provisions came down by the Two small Rivers *Tiber* and *Anio*, but the Course of both is very short, especially of the last, and both are full of Windings, and rapid. *Virgil* says somewhere, *Leni fluit agmine Tiberis*; that the *Tiber* did run gently; then *Virgil* did not know what was a placid River. These Two Rivers cannot be remounted, even in empty Boats, but by the Help of Horses, as is said already, they are extremely narrow, especially the *Anio*, which deserves hardly

hardly to be taken notice of; this Narrowness is very troublesome to Navigation, when there are many Boats going up and down, as it must have been unavoidable, if there had been the same Multitude of People at *Rome* as there is at *London*. For the Boats being obliged in a narrow and rapid River to follow the Course of the Water as running downwards, and to shun the same as going upwards, and to side the Land by help of Horses, 'tis easily conceiv'd that those Boats had been every Moment in danger to be stav'd and dash'd to pieces one by the other, if there had been many going up and down. All this was not proper to make a Town as populous as *London* is, and would undoubtedly have made Provisions very dear, as I said already. We must consider besides, that the Boats going upwards must have return'd empty, which must have been another great Inconveniency, by reason that there being no Commodity return'd to the Country, that which they brought from the Country to the Town must have paid double Freight, for coming and going back.

back. For what should they have carry'd from *Rome* into the Country? We must not imagine that 'twas there as 'tis at *London*, where there are Magazines of a Thousand sorts of Commodities, both Foreign and Domestick, where you have abundance of Manufactures, and a rich and populous Country, and a People of great Expence, and curious, both in Town and Country. Whereas in the Time of Ancient *Rome* there was but little Trade in the whole World, the People were very frugal, and generally poor. They had no Manufactures but only of Woollen, and a little of Linnen, and these very simple; and we see in the Map no considerable Town where any Goods might be carry'd to by the River. Add to this, that the *Tiber* having so short a Running, had it brought great Quantities of Provisions to *Rome*, they must yet have been dear, since they would have been brought from the Country afar off by Land-Carriage to the River, before the River could convey them to *Rome*. Now every body knows, that when any bulky and heavy Commodity,

such



such as Corn, Wine, Wood, Hay, &c. is brought by Land-Carriage to a River it makes the Commodity so much the dearer, sometimes by half in half: So that 'tis evident the *Tiber* was not capable of maintaining a City so populous as *London* is. This we must farther say, that the *Tiber* is not navigable further than Twenty Leagues above *Rome*, and not above Ten or Twelve Leagues for Boats of any considerable Burthen. The *Romans* call'd it their Father, because it maintain'd and furnish'd Provisions to their Town; but then it was a very indifferent one. So that *Lipsius* Ibid. Flumen opportunum quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges debebantur. was very much mistaken also, when he said that "the *Tiber* was very convenient to bring Provisions down to *Rome* from the Country.

As to the Materials or Provisions that might have been brought to *Rome* by Land-Carriage, I said already, that such Carriage causes them to be much dearer; but this must be further consider'd, that their Highways, so narrow and strangely pav'd, were not fit at all for that. They were all pav'd with large Free-stones: No body is ignorant how inconvenient

ent Stone-ways are, at long run, to Horses, Cattle, and Men. It wears and ruins their Legs, especially such Stones as their High-ways were pav'd with, being as even as a Looking-glass, as may be seen even at this Day by Travellers, who find here and there some Remains of those High-ways. And no doubt but Beasts and Men do often slide upon such Stones, which were so closely join'd to one another, that their *Via Appia*, which they did call *Regina Viarum*, the Queen of all the High-ways, and

\* Lips. pag. 194. quotes Procopius, saying, *Via Appia prae ceteras spectabilis, ea latitudine, ut duo Currus ex adverso obvii libere queant pervadere & commeari,*

Exc. Appius enim lapides

siliceos & durissimos in hanc vehendos curavit, quos planos deinde & laeves redditos, ac quadratos incisione facta junxit & in ordine locavit, metalli nihil vel alterius rei inferendo, sunt tamen ita connexi & valide inter se haerent, ut speciem visentibus praebeant non conjunctos ita esse, sed congeneros. Et quamvis jam tot seculis atterantur assiduus plaustris jumentisque, tamen neque serie sua vel minimum exeant & dimoventur, neque franguntur aut laborem suum amittunt.

Georg. Fabr. Roma, pag. 268. Tam autem lata fuerunt via extra Urbem, ut quadam binos currus simul euntes caperent.

was above an Hundred Miles long, seem'd to be all of a Stone. \* They had about Thirty such small High-ways in all about Rome, that were thus pav'd, which shews pretty well that their Town could not be so populous, especially when we see that their own Authors, commending those High-ways, tell us that the broadest

of

of them, which was *Via Appia*, was only fit for Two Carts to go a-breast, and the others less. Now it is plain, that if our High-ways about *London* were not broader, the Town would not be able to subsist, notwithstanding our incomparable River, which is better than Thirty *Tibers*; and unless a speedy Alteration was made in the same High-ways, by making them wider, *London* would suffer extreamly by it, and be nothing near so populous as it is. They were the common Roads for Carts and Horses.

These High-ways of *Rome* were Works of Ostentation, fit only for the March of their Legions, and not very fit neither. They were ridiculous, and did not shew a great Prudence in those who were the Contrivers of them, supposing *Rome* to have been a very populous City: For we do not hear they had any other High-ways than such; and I wonder why the Emperors, who did convert their wooden Theatres into others of Marble or Free-stone, did not also make their High-ways broader. If so be their High-ways had been more convenient, and that there had been  
upon

*A Comparison between*

upon the Coasts several good Sea-ports, not far from *Rome*, they might have been supply'd with Provisions from thence, but there was nothing to do with such High-ways, and such a Sea-port as that of *Ostia*.

Every body at *London* is struck with Admiration how such a prodigious City can be supply'd with Provisions, altho' it has the Advantage of an excellent River, not subject to any of the ordinary Inconveniencies of Rivers; it is broad and deep, not subject nor obnoxious to Tempests, having the Benefit of Flux and Reflex for the Space of Eighty Miles, Twenty Miles above *London*, and running the Course of above Four Hundred Miles, where all the Ships in the World might be contain'd, and even the biggest, Two or Three Miles broad in some Places, running thro' a rich, fruitful, and populous Country, not subject to Over-flowings, and making One of the best Sea-ports in the Universe. A River besides, into which several other navigable Rivers do discharge themselves, and in an Age wherein there is more Trade and Navigation in the  
World



World than ever was before, and Ten times more Ships and Sea-men in *England* than ever were in all the *Roman Empire* in its greatest Splendor. In fine, in a large Island, abounding with Sea-ports, Mariners, and Vessels, which are continually bringing Provisions and Commodities from all Parts of the Kingdom, and of the whole World to it, and driving besides a prodigious Trade in the Country. Every body, I say, is amaz'd, notwithstanding all this, at this Day, and the great Number of large and broad High-ways about *London*, how it can be supply'd with all Necessaries. How is it possible then that Ancient *Rome*, being destitute of all those Advantages, should ever have been able to maintain the same Number of People, and even several Millions, as *Lipsius*, *Vossius*, and a Thousand others pretend? For Example, *Lipsius* says that there were no less than Three or Four Millions of Servants or Slaves only. *Vossius* asserts that there were more Slaves or Servants at *Rome* than there are Inhabitants in any Kingdom of *Europe* at this Day; and no less than Fourteen

Mil-

*Lips. pag. 183.*  
*Jam igitur*  
*habemus in*  
*Roma 3 aut 4*  
*Milliones Ser-*  
*vorum, quan-*  
*tum nec in*  
*Provinciis*  
*quibusdam*  
*& Regnis.*

*Voss. Obser-* Millions of Inhabitants of all sorts:  
*vationes va-* But that there are only Six Hundred  
*riae, pag. 33.* Thousand Souls in *London* and *Pa-*  
*Plures Roma* ris, viz. Three Hundred Thousand  
*Servi fuerunt* in each of those Cities.  
*quam ullus*  
*hoc Tempore*  
*Europa Reg-*  
*num contineat homines.*

*Idem, pag. 34.* Posito itaque hoc calculo habebis *Roma* centies  
 & quadragies centena *Hominum* Millia, sive ut vulgo loquuntur 14  
 Milliones. quantam multitudinem ne tria quidem amplissima Orbis  
 Christiani possint conferre Regna. Numerus autem Incolarum in u-  
 trisque Urbibus, *Parisiorum* nempe & *Londonensi*, non excedit 600  
*Hominum* Millia.

At *Paris* I have often heard the  
 People wonder how that City could  
 be supply'd with all Sorts of Provisi-  
 ons, considering its Populoufness;  
 and yet it lies in a far better Ground,  
 and better Air, than *Rome*, and is  
 much better provided with Rivers,  
 since there are Five or Six more na-  
 vigable than the *Tiber*; falling very  
 near it into the *Seine*, which is the  
 chiefest of them, and runs through  
 the middle of it. 'Tis well known that  
 all those Rivers are of a longer Course  
 than the *Tiber*, and run through bet-  
 ter, more plentiful, and populous  
 Countries than the *Tiber* ever did,  
 and do all communicate with the Sea  
 thro' the *Seine*. As for Example,  
 there

there are Three or Four coming from *Burgundy* and *Champaign* into the *Marne* and *Seine* above *Paris*, and the *Oise* River from *Picardy* falls into the *Seine* a little below *Paris*, with another from *Beauce* which runs thro' *Chartres* into the *Seine*. Every Body knows besides, that by the Means of the *Canal de Briare*, the great River *Loire*, distant only Ten Leagues from the *Rhone* at *Lions*, communicates with the *Seine*, and furnishes *Paris* with Abundance of Provisions and Commodities. All those great Rivers, I say, supply *Paris* with a great many Things from the Two Seas, *Ocean* and *Mediterranean*, and with all sorts of Materials and Provisions from the Provinces of *France*, and yet for all that all Things are always pretty dear at *Paris*. I own that the excessive Impositions are partly the Cause of that Dearth, but *Rome*, when most populous, was also over-loaden with them, under the Emperors.

I never read in any Ancient Author that the Streets of *Rome* were very full of People, and yet it should have been so, seeing they were so

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nar-

narrow, and that there were so few of them.

I am sure they had not so many convenient Lanes, Allies, Courts and Yards, full of People, as we have at *London*.

I do not remember I ever read that they had such Abundance of Shops as there are here. The Number of their *Lupanaria*, or Bawdy-houses, as their own Contemporary Authors do tell us, was also very mean, compared with that of many great Towns now in *Europe*. For their Authors do mention only Fourty Five, altho' we see by their Poets that they were not very chaste neither. Yet I am confident they were a great deal better in that Point than many of the Christian Nations are, by reason of the Court of Antichristian *Rome*, and its impure Clergy, who have infected all, even the Protestant Countries, with the Contagion of their Lewdness.

The Number of their Publick Houses of Office, or *Latrines*, was not great, being but Fourty Four in all.

The



The Number also of the Houses of great and rich Men, called *Domus*, was not very considerable, *viz.* One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty, according to *Lipsius*.

Pag. 199. *Tales autem Domus in tota Urbe fuerunt* 1780.

We may also see, by the Number of their Hand-mills of Brasses to grind Corn, that there was not such a great Multitude of People as there is in *London*. For the *Roman* Authors, who us'd to amplify all that might give a great Idea of their *Rome*, do reckon but Two Hundred Forty Four such Hand-mills. 'Tis certain, that if there had been as much People in *Rome* as in *London*, so small a Number of Hand-mills would not have been sufficient, unless the *Romans* had eaten much less Bread than the *English* do; who yet are look'd upon, generally, by all the neighbouring Nations, as the least Bread-eaters in the World. We know by Experience, that a Water-mill or Wind-mill that have but Two Mills each, can hardly each of them grind the Corn of a Country Parish of a Thousand Souls, altho' the said Mills are at work Day and Night, especially Water-mills, even when they do not

want Water. Now it is known that those sort of Mills must needs do a great deal more Work than Hand-mills, manag'd only by the Strength of a Man's Arm. I believe it cannot be disputed but that they were Hand-mills, considering the other Mills are the Invention of later Times; and besides we see by their Authors that it was a Punishment among the *Romans*, for their Slaves to be employ'd in that kind of Work, since the Masters do threaten, in *Terence* and *Plautus*, their Servants, to send 'em to the Mills; *Dabo te in Pistrinum*. It was a Punishment like to that of the *Rasp-huys* in *Holland*, for incorrigible Rogues. And 'tis likely, that as they are condemned in *Holland* to rasp so many Pounds of Brasil Wood a Day, so likewise those wicked Men at *Rome* were condemned to grind such Measure of Corn a Day. Another Reason to shew that they must have been Hand-mills is, that there were Mills in all the Regions of the Town, proportionably to the Number of Inhabitants of each Region, as you may see in their Authors, such as *Donatus* and *Publius Victor*; where-

whereas Water and Wind-mills cannot be us'd every where, and, as I said, they are a new Invention.

The Number of their publick Ovens, where all the Bread for the Town was bak'd, shews likewise that there was not such a vast Number of People as we generally fancy. It was much if an Oven could bake Bread every Day, one with another, for a Thousand People. Their Authors take notice only of Three Hundred Twenty Nine publick Ovens. I confess this Proof might be of no great Force, if we had not so many others, because it might be said that there were perhaps Twenty Ovens in a House, which were all comprehended under the Name of an Oven; and the same of the Mills too, and *Latrines*, and Bawdy-houses.

It seems also, by the small Number of their Common-shores, *viz.* Seven, that the City could not be so great, nor consequently hold so many People. I do not doubt but that there were several little Ones, that discharg'd themselves into the great Ones, altho' Authors do not take notice of them. But however it seems

Lips. Pag. 197.

*Fuerunt enim 7 Cloaca  
præcipua, tot  
quot sunt  
Montes, & in  
magnam  
unam conflue-  
bant.*

Voss. Pag. 3.  
*Compita Re-  
gionum fue-  
runt secun-  
dum Plinium  
CCLXV.*

that a City of Sixty or an Hundred and Twenty Miles in Compass, with several Millions of People in it, as our Authors would have it, would have had a much greater Number of Common-shores; and 'tis remarkable that those Seven did all of them meet into One, as their own Authors do write.

Authors, as I observ'd already, mention only Two Hundred Sixty Five Cross-ways in the whole Town, so *Pliny* says, and Two Hundred and Thirteen Streets. This holds Proportion with the foresaid Number of Mills, Ovens, Bawdy-houses, *Latrines*, and *Gloacas*. Those *Compita*, or Cross-ways, were either with Three or Four Branches. Now, at *London*, we have a great many more Cross-ways, with Three or Four Branches, than Streets, because we have Abundance of little Streets, Lanes, Alleys, Courts and Yards, which cross the great Streets, and are great Thorough-fares and Passages, and the Houses in them are numerous, and full of People. It was impossible there should be so many Thorough-fares and Streets as in *London*,

be-



because of the Multitude of Noblemens Houses, with their Inclosures, and so many publick Buildings, unless we reckon among the Passages and Thorough-fares, the small empty Space, about Two or Three Foot broad, which did divide every House from each other, and did isle them, which must needs have taken a great Space, consider'd all together, and consequently made the Town and the Number of Houses and Inhabitants much the lesser.

The small Number of their Bridges, City Gates, High-ways and Regions, shews also that there could not be so much People.

The great Number of Palaces, Churches, Fields, *Thermes*, Piazzas, and other empty Spaces, whereof I shall take Notice in another Place, did hinder also the Town from being so populous. \* Some of their magnifying Authors complain that the Houses of some Senators were as big as Cities; as likewise that some of their *Thermes*, or Publick Baths, were as large as Provinces.

\* *Ammianus* scribit, *Lana-cra in modum Provincia-rum exstructa*

*Valerius cum indignatione ait, Augusto se habitare nunc putat, cujus Domus tantum patet, quantum Cin-*

*If cinnati rura patuerunt.*

E 4

*Lips. p. 198. Seneca passim increpat Aedificia laxitatem magnarum Urbium vincentia.*

If we did not take for an Hyperbole what the Poet *Martial* says, that in a Day of Triumph all the People of *Rome* were to be seen in the Street call'd *Via Flaminia* or *Triumphalis*, we should have Reason to think that the People were but few, when he says, *Totaque Flaminia Roma videntur Via*; the Street might be Eight or Nine Foot broad, and was not long in the City, altho' the same Street was a High-way also in the Country, with the same Name. We must confess that such a Street seems but little fit for a Triumph to pass by; for their High-ways being so narrow, the Streets of the Town must yet have been narrower.

*Lips. p. 216.*  
*Sylla Legem*  
*tulit ut Feriis*  
*solemnibus* 30  
*Sestertios lice-*  
*ret insumere;*  
*ceteris Die-*  
*bus ternos, ter-*  
*ni autem nec*  
*Drachma.*

We may also judge, by their *Ci-  
 bariae Leges*, or Laws for regulating every Rich Man's Expences as to his Diet, even by that of *Sylla*, that *Rome* could not be very populous; for it was prohibited to spend above a Drachme, which is Two Pence half-penny of our Mony, every ordinary Day, unless it were at a Wedding or other great Feast; which was a Sign of Poverty under the Republick: Although *Vossius* thinks that *Rome* under the Republick

publick did flourish most, and was richer than under the Emperors. Any body may judge by this that *Rome* was not fit to maintain great Multitudes of People; if such a Thing were done at *London* it would spoil abundance of People. In a rich Country Luxuriousness becomes the Rich, and should be prohibited only to the common Sort of People, who have no considerable Estates. 'Tis true, under *Augustus* other Laws were made, whereby the richest of the People were allow'd to spend much more, if they had a mind to do it.

*Voss. p. 3. Si itaque inquiramus Temperius quo maxima & florentissima fuerit Civitas Romana non male hoc, ut existimo, referimus ad illos Annos qui proxime Dictaturam Sylla precesserunt.*

They had also a Law, whereby Women were restrain'd from talking with Men in publick; which did exclude all Women, at once, from buying or selling any thing, and from driving any Trade. Such a Law would be very prejudicial in *London*, and would not please the Women at all, nor does it agree with the Opinion of a great Trade and Populousness.

They did not value Women, who, being Widows, marry'd a second time; this would not please our Women neither: And tho' there was no Law

Law against it, yet that Custom was a little against Propagation also.

Their Authors do only mention Nine or Ten Streets that were any thing considerable, and I do not believe that their best Streets were comparable to the middle sort of ours, either for Length, or Breadth, or Uniformity of Houses: But only they had, here and there, some fine public Building, or Nobleman's House, or Piazza. *Georgius Fabritius* gives an Account of their other great Streets besides *Via Appia*, to the Number of Eleven, viz. *Via sacra*, *Via nova*, *Via nova alia*, *Via lata*, *Via alta*, *Via recta*, *Via fornicata*, *Via suburana*, *Via Piscinaria*, *Via Triumphalis* or *Flaminia*, *Via Ælia*. I observe that there was none call'd *Via longa*, or the long Street.

Had Rome been as populous as is thought, 'tis not likely that *Cæsar* would have so much admir'd the Populousness of *England*, when he came there: He says, in his Commentaries, he saw an infinite Multitude of People; which, by the by, does not agree at all with the System of those who fancy that, in the Time of our



Saviour, there were not above Three Hundred and Sixty Thousand Souls in *England*.

If there had been as much People in *Rome* as there is at *London*, I cannot imagine how they could supply that Town with Fire-wood; for altho' the Country is not so cold as *England*, yet they wanted Fire as well as we do, to bake their Bread, and dress their Meat; and they consum'd a world of it in their hot Baths, which were us'd generally both in Winter and Summer. They were also oblig'd to keep a constant Fire in the Winter against the Cold, as well as we do; and sometimes the Cold is sharper at *Rome* than it is in *England*. *Horace* shews it was sharp enough in the Winter time, when he says, Ode IX.

*Vides ut alta stet nive candidum  
Soracte, nec jam sustineant onus  
Sylvæ laborantes, geluque  
Flumina constiterint acuto:  
Dissolve Frigus ligna super Foco  
Largere ponens, &c.*

*A Comparison between*

I have shewn already that their River was very troublesome, and unfit to supply them sufficiently with Wood, and other bulky Materials, if the Town had been so very populous: And we cannot but acknowledge that *Paris* (altho' a small City in Comparison of *London*) buys its Wood always at a very dear Rate, notwithstanding the Benefit it enjoys of so many good Rivers, which do convey it thereunto from many Provinces of the Kingdom; and yet, for all that, Fuel is at all times four or five times as dear as at *London*.

'Tis commonly believ'd in *England*, or at least 'tis said so, that were it not for Sea-coals, *London* could never be supply'd sufficiently with Firewood, notwithstanding the admirable River of *Thames*, and the innumerable Multitude of Ships and Seamen, which, were it necessary, might fetch it from all the Coasts, where they would gather it from all Parts of the Kingdom, by means of the Rivers that run thro' every Province. Certain it is, that Fuel would be extraordinary dear at *London*, were it not for the said Sea-coals; and if all other

other Provisions were as dear at *London*, as they must needs have been at *Rome*, supposing it to have been so populous, *London* in a few Years would lose the Three Parts in Four of its Inhabitants; which would be unavoidable, if the Sea-port, River, Ground, Air, Waters, and High-ways were not better, and the Carriage of all Things as dear.

It is not likely that they had such a Multitude of Ships and Sea-men in *Italy*, and even in all their Streights, to provide *Rome* with all Necessaries, as we have in *England*; no, nor the Tenth Part neither. Believe me, they had but few Sea-men then; but suppose they had been mostly supply'd by Sea with all sorts of Provisions, what if the Storms had ruin'd their Fleets of Merchant-men, or the Enemies and Pirats taken 'em? If the same be objected to us, we answer, our River, Country, and High-ways are a great deal better than those of *Rome*; and can supply us with all sorts of Provisions from the Country, much more conveniently and abundantly, than they could be supply'd at *Rome*.

*A Comparison between*

I shall shew, in its proper Place, that their Nobility and Gentry were generally poor, in Comparison of ours, altho' some were very rich.

We read not a Word in the ancient Authors of the Use of the Post-Office, and much less of the Penny-Post-Office, nor of the Use of Bills of Exchange, nor of Hackney-Coaches at *Rome*, which are Things so necessary in populous and trading Countries and large Towns. I have read indeed somewhere that *Artaxerxes* (surnamed *Mnemon*) instituted Post-Horses in his Dominions, and he flourish'd about *A. U. C.* 360. The Question is, whether an Invention of such a general Use was for so many Years confin'd to *Persia*, and not diffus'd afterwards thro' the *Roman Empire*, and consequently us'd in *Italy*?

The *Spartans* had their *Hemerodromi*.

These Two Things have been objected to me by a very Learned Man, who saw this Manuscript of mine, which I am now publishing.

To this I answer, That Post-Horses in *Artaxerxes's* time were probably for no other Use than they are in  
*China*



place, where the Emperor makes use of them only for his private Affairs, viz. to carry his Orders to the Governors of Provinces and Cities, and for nothing else, as *Lewis le Comte* tells us in his Account of *China*; the Merchants and Traders get no Advantage by them: And Trade to be sure was not very great in *Persia* in *Artaxerxes's* time. As for the *ἡμεροδρομοί*, or Day-runners of the *Spartans*, the Word it self shews that their Postilions were quite different from ours; the Word signifies either that they did run only in the Day time, or only One Day, and 'tis like they made no Use of Horses for that purpose: As we have seen in many Provinces of *Portugal* and *Spain*, and other Countries, where they have no other Couriers but Foot-pads, who march only One Day, and then leave the Packet to another, who marches also another Day, and so does the next Day another Foot-pad, 'till the Packet arrives where they intend it should be brought to. And the short Dominions and Trade of *Sparta* were not considerable enough to require Post-Horses.

How-

However it be, 'tis plain by the *Roman* History that they had no Post-Horses at *Rome*, not only because there's not the least mention made of it by all their Authors, but because their Carriers or Postilions, as you shall please to call them, were call'd *Tabellarii*, from the Tables they carry'd, either of Wood cover'd with Wax, or any other such Material, upon which the *Romans* wrote their publick Acts, Statutes, and Instruments or publick Writings; *Tabellarius* signifies a Carrier of such Tables. They did write afterwards in Palm-tree Leaves; private Letters at last in fine Linnen or Wax. They wrote with an Instrument of Steel or Iron, having a sharp Point, and afterwards us'd a Bone. The Use of Paper was not known then; they us'd also Rinds of Trees, and did likewise write in great Leaves made of that Rush *Papyrus* growing in *Egypt*, from whence our Word Paper. They made use also of Parchment \*. I shall shew hereafter that Trade in all the *Roman* Empire was very small.

\* *Vide* Tho. Goodwin in his *Anthologia Historiæ Romanæ*, pag. 229.

I do not so much as read any thing of Carriers from *Rome* to other Towns

or

or Cities in *Italy*, which are so necessary also in populous and trading Countries, and so common among us, that there are sometimes Three or Four every Week going from one Town to the other; and in truth, it was impossible for them to practise it, since their High-ways were so improper for it, as we have seen. Can you suppose that Eight or Nine Hundred Carriers had come to *Rome* every Week from the Country, besides Coaches, Pack-horses, and Travel-lers, Thousands of other Carts laden with Provisions every Day, and Drovers of Cattle, &c. as there are coming every Week and Day to *London*, and going back again to the Country; how could that possibly be, their High-ways being so inconvenient and narrow, as represented already? I find indeed something of a *Treck-schuyt* or Draw-Boat in *Horace*, wherein he represents to us that he went from *Rome* to *Aricia* and *Forum Appium*, which is only a good Day's Journey from *Rome*, and gives us such a Description of that Carriage, and of the Inn where they lodg'd, that a Man cannot have any great O-

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pinion

pinion of *Rome*, and of its Riches or Policy, when he reads it. By what he says, we may see that the Boat was not well regulated, that the Carrier or Skipper was unruly, and that the Inn in that Town, which was so near *Rome*, and at the End of a Day's Journey, was very mean, and ill provided with Necessaries. We must believe it was the best Inn in that Town, for *Horace* was a Voluptuary, and a considerable Man, as being the Favourite of *Mæcenas*, and a *Tribunus Militum*, a Colonel at least. It was along *Via Appia*, the greatest Road about *Rome*, and the most frequented. Certainly the Carriages and Inns about *Paris* and *London* are much more convenient, and better regulated, especially in Market-Towns; as also the *Treck-schuyts* or Draw-Boats in *Holland*, and even upon the less considerable Roads, and they are not reduc'd to One, as *Rome* was; and you may be provided every where with good Accommodation.

*Horace Serm. Lib. i. Sat. 5.* *Egressum magnâ me excepit Aricia Româ*

Ho-



*Hospitio modico, &c. inde Forum Appi  
Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque  
malignis, &c.*

*Hic ego propter Aquam, quod erat de-  
terrimum, ventri*

*Indico bellum, &c.*

*Tum Pueri Nautis, Pueris convicia  
Nautæ*

*Ingerere, huc appelle. Trecentos inse-  
ris, obe!*

*Jam satis est. Dum æs exigitur, dum  
mula ligatur*

*Tota abit Hora. Mali Culices, Ranæ-  
que palustres*

*Avertunt Somnos. Absentem cantat  
Amicam*

*Multâ prolutus vappa nauta, atque  
Viator*

*Certatim. Tandem fessus dormire Vi-  
ator*

*Incipit: Ac missæ pastam retinacula  
Mulæ*

*Nauta piger saxo religat, stertitque  
supinus.*

*Jamque Dies aderat, quum nil pro-  
cedere Lintrem*

*Sentimus: Donec cerebrosus profilit  
unus*

*Ac mulæ Nautæque Caput lumbosque  
saligno*

*A Comparison between*

*Fuste dolat. Quarta vix demum exponimur Hora, &c.*

This gives us also a very mean Idea of *Rome*.

If Ancient *Rome* had consum'd as much Cattle as *London* does, all *Italy* would hardly have been able to supply it with a sufficient Quantity: And what if it had contain'd Fourteen Millions of People, as *Vossius* says?

We see that Fish is always pretty dear at *London*, dearer than Flesh, altho' there are Thousands of Fishermen, many Fish-markets, an admirable River, or rather many Rivers about it, for Fresh-water Fish, and the Sea at hand, besides what dry and salted Fish is brought from far by Sea and Land unto it. We know by History that the People of *Rome* did eat abundance of it, which as 'tis a Sign that 'twas cheap and plentiful, so is it a Sign also that the People of *Rome* were not so numerous as ours are.

Some are apt to say that the Country about *Rome* was an Hundred times more populous and fruitful than it is at present, and that we must not judge of Ancient *Rome* and the adjacent

cent Country by what we see at present; that the Papacy has depopulated that Country, and that Popery lays waste all Countries where it bears Sway. I grant all this; but I say, that altho' the Pope and all his Priests were destroy'd, and that the Emperor should have turn'd out the Tyrant, and reside there himself with all his Court, with Forty Millions Sterling Revenue, and should repeople all the Country about *Rome*, which the Papal Tyranny has depopulated, should promote and encourage Diligence, Industry, Chastity, and Matrimony, instead of the abominable Idleness and other horrid Vices introduc'd by the Priests, and did maintain Thirty or Forty Thousand Soldiers for his ordinary Guard; and altho' all his Court was as numerous and rich as that of the Ancient Emperors; notwithstanding all those Things, I say, it would be impossible to subsist there the same Number of People that there is in *London*, because of the bad Sea-port and River, &c.

They will tell us, that sometimes, after some great Victory, Meat was

Lipf. p. 217.  
*Bello Mithri-*  
*datico Lucul-*  
*lus pradas è*  
*Ponto egit*  
*tam abun-*  
*dantes ut Bos*  
*una Drach-*  
*ma vennis*  
*effet*, that is,  
 Two Pence  
 half-penny of  
 our *English*  
 Mony; this  
 seems incre-  
 dible.

very cheap at *Rome*, and that an Ox was to be bought for less than Three Pence, because they had taken great Numbers of them from the Enemy, and brought them even from *Asia* to *Rome*; but this, instead of shewing the Populoufness and Riches of the Town and Country, shews the contrary; that it was not populous nor rich, or else that the People did not eat Meat, or that Mony was very scarce. Let us imagine that the *French*, after having conquer'd *Lorrain*, *Franchecomté*, *Naples*, or *Portugal*, should have brought to *Paris* along with them Thirty Thousand Oxen or Cows by Land or Sea, as a Booty from these Provinces, and sold them at *Paris* for Three Pence a piece, every body would say they took great Pains for almost nothing: This would prejudice mightily the Farmers and Grasiars about *Paris*, and would disable the conquer'd Country from paying the Tributes or Subsidies; however it shews rather Poverty and Depopulation than any other Thing.

Suppose *Rome* had been oblig'd to have for its Trade such a quantity of Ships, great or small, that might have made



made up in capacity the same number of Tuns as those belonging to *London* do; where should they have taken the Timber, Iron, Hemp, Pitch and Tar to set them up? We do not hear that there was in *Italy* any considerable Sea-Town for Shipping to serve their City. We should be here at a great Loss for Timber, Hemp, and Iron, if it was not for the Northern Countries, which do supply us with them.

We observ'd already that the Air of *Rome* was unhealthy, because it was expos'd to the South, *Austro objecta & Cæli aliquanto gravioris*, as the Authors say; as also because of the *Lacunes*, and marshy Ground about *Rome*, which *Horace* did denote to us, when he said, that the Frogs and Gnats did disturb his Sleep; *Ma-li Culices, Ranaque palustres, avertunt Somnos*.

The Situation of *London* has, besides Air, another great Advantage above *Rome*, which is, that being placed further in the Land, it may be more abundantly provided with Provisions from the Country, and may besides communicate to the same

a great many more Commodities, both foreign and of its own, than *Rome* did, And its Remoteness from the Sea does not prejudice it in the least, because the Ships are safe in it, and the Tide can bring the greatest Vessels to it in less than Twenty Four Hours.

Let them say what they will concerning the Soil or Ground about *Rome*, I affirm that the Ground of *London*, Fifty Miles about it, is much fruitfuller and better than that of *Rome* was, and produces more Hay and Grass, and consequently there's more Cattle, and Dung to dung Gardens and Lands with. All these Things do contribute much towards making a City populous. The Ground about *Rome* was barren, as is observ'd by Authors and Travellers. *Francisco Bocchi*, an *Italian* Author, confirms the same, when he says, *Il Terreno Vicino a Roma poco abundante & sterile*, pag. 121.

*London* is naturally the fittest City in all *England* for Trade. It was not so of Old *Rome*, in respect of *Italy*: Although we hear of no famous Town for Trade in that Country; but we have

have seen that Ships of considerable Bulk could not come at it; and their Men of War never came to *Ostia*, the Port was too shallow and full of Sand and Mud for such Ships.

*Rome* did never enjoy, even under the Republican Government, a greater Liberty, or so great as the People of *London* do; of whom we may say, that they see and feel the Extreame of Liberty; *Quid prius & quid ultimum sit in Libertate*. I observe this, because Liberty and Property are of great Consequence for populating Towns.

The Impositions, both under the Republick and the Emperors, but especially under the latter, were excessive; which does in no manner help towards populating a Town, and they were so much the harder, that Trade and Manufactures were at a low Ebb. In *London* they are very few and light to bear in time of Peace, and very moderate even in time of War: And the poor People, either in War or Peace, pay nothing at all; whereas it was not so at *Rome*. If there was a general Excise in *London* upon all things, as there was at *Rome*,

*Rome*, the Numbers of the People would mightily decrease: Some would go to the Plantations, some to *Ireland*, others into the Country, and few would come from the Country to settle in *London*.

It must be consider'd also, that the greatest Part of the People of *Rome* were Slaves, or *Liberti*, or *Libertini*; that is, made free by their Masters, and descended from such, which implies that they were generally poor, and could spend little; a thing not proper to render a City flourishing. Such People are very useful in the Country, but pernicious to Tradesmen, Handicrafts, and Shop-keepers in Towns; because they either do their own Work, or at least spend almost nothing, especially at *Rome*, where they were pitifully cloath'd, and worse fed; but the truth is, the most part of their Slaves were at their Country Houses, and the narrow Streets of *Rome* did not allow them to keep so many in Town for their Attendance.

The little Esteem the *Romans* had generally for the Common People of *Rome*, was not fit to make it very popu-



people populous. The Four Tribes of the  
 would City were called *Urbanae*, but the  
 to Ire- xxxi Tribes of the Country were  
 and call'd *Ingenuae*, as being reputed more  
 try to noble and ingenuous, so that the great  
 Men desir'd to be list'd among them.

at the They did not value Shop-keepers,  
 Rome Citizens, and Tradesmen; and altho'  
 berti- Merchants were more valu'd than  
 Ma- those other sorts of People, yet they  
 which were not in such Esteem as they are  
 poor among us. So *Bocchi* tells us. They  
 g not did value most such as were addicted  
 hing to Agriculture, or Husbandry, or to  
 n the the Military Art. This was not fit  
 adef- neither to make the City populous.  
 epers It had been a great piece of Impru-  
 er do dence in that Government, to suffer  
 d al- such a vast Number of idle People, as  
 rome, our Authors pretend, in a Place that  
 th'd was not fit for Trade at all.

the The rich People among the *Ro-*  
 their mans could easily maintain many more  
 rrow Servants than we do, because both  
 them Masters and Servants or Slaves were  
 their generally much less debauch'd, sobe-  
 had rer, frugaler, chaster, and modester  
 le of than we are. Our rich People spend  
 very more several ways, than they did a-  
 opu- bout their Pleasures, either lawful or

un-

unlawful. Our Lackeys at this day, and Servant-Maids, are better clothed and feed higher than the *Roman* Knights or Senators themselves. But after all, this Luxuriousness, even in such sort of People, is a great deal more proper to enrich and people a City, than the general Parsimony and Frugality of the *Romans*; altho' there have been some few noted also among them for great Extravagancies of that kind; but in general they were extreemly frugal, especially in the Common-wealth's time, because poor.

They had no Manufactures almost in that Town, as I said, which is contrary to Riches and Populousness.

Lipf. p. 208. *Plinium & Plantum testes habemus Populum Romanum per aliquot Sacula non nisi farre & pulite vulgo usum.* For many Ages they were so poor that they did live most upon *Papules* and *farra*; hence it is that *Plautus* calls them *Pulphagos*. I shall shew in the next Chapter, when I speak of their Riches, that they seem to have been very poor before the Emperors.

They had but very few Markets in comparison with us, viz. Nine or Ten, and among them but One for Meat. That for Ox Flesh, call'd *Bovarium*.

*arium*

s day, *arium*; One for Hogs Flesh, or the  
 cloa- *Suarium*; One for Fish, or the *Pi-*  
 Roman *scarium*; One for Herbs, or the *Oli-*  
 . But *torium*. I have said somewhat con-  
 ren in cerning that in the Chapter of the  
 t deal Extent: It may serve also to clear the  
 ple a Point of the Populoufness of the  
 mony two Cities, *London* and *Rome*.

altho' We find in *London* above Thirty  
 d also Slaughter-houses extreamly well fur-  
 ancies nish'd with all Sorts of Meat, and al-  
 they most as many Fish-Markets, either in  
 ly in a body of Market-place, or scatter'd  
 cause up and down in a great many Streets.

*Rome* was in the Form of a Bow,  
 lmost as I observ'd already, whereof the  
 ch in River was the String; which is not  
 fness a Figure very capable, and it shews  
 poor and confirms at the same time what  
 Pap we have said concerning the little  
 'lan Advantage they receiv'd from their  
 shall River, and that there was not much  
 nen Trading; for suppose the River had  
 seem been so very useful, why did not  
 e the they build Houses on both Sides of  
 the River, all along it, rather than  
 ts in to live so far from it. 'Tis certain  
 e of that there were but few Houses in the  
 e for *Transiberine* Region, in comparison  
 d Bo with the rest of the Town, and that  
 ium they

they were always in fears of being overflow'd and drowned by that silly River.

The Authors who make *Rome* of so great Extent, and so prodigiously populous, shew themselves destitute of Judgment, in owning that it had that Figure, *viz.* of a Bow; and that the greatest Part of it was so far from the River, and that the Town had so few Bridges upon it, so few Gates, so few Regions, and so few Hills, &c.

I have said already, that the Fleets of the *Romans* stood in Places remote from *Rome*, because the Port was not fit for them, which was also contrary to the Peopling of that Town; for no Body is ignorant how many Hundreds and Thousands of Families do live and subsist by the Neighbourhood of such great Fleets; I dare say, that there are above Fifteen or Twenty Thousand People about *London*, who get their Livelihood, more or less, by our Fleet, and Men of War standing in the Proximity of it, by their furnishing the same with all sorts of Materials and Provisions, and by the building

or



or repairing of Ships, or by lodging  
and feeding their Officers and Sea-  
men when at Land, besides the great  
conveniency which results from  
thence, both for the Government, and  
for the Sailors and Merchants Ships,  
who are thereby provided continual-  
ly with Convoys. 'Tis well known  
that the *Roman* Fleets did stand at  
*Ravenna* in the *Adriatick*, at *My-  
cene* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in  
*Foro Julii* in *Gallia Narbonense*, and  
in *Ponto* in *Asia*, all Places very re-  
mote from *Rome*; whereas our *En-  
glish* Navy are either in the *Thames*  
or in the *Downs*, or in *Shereness* or  
*Chatham*, or about *Portsmouth*, all  
Places not very much distant from  
*London*.

All that might be granted in Point  
of Populoufness to the City of *Rome*  
is, that it might have had as much  
People as *Milan* or *Naples* have at  
this Day; and I can hardly believe  
that it could have more than any of  
these Cities has, especially *Naples*,  
which is the best peopled of the  
two.

We must rather argue, in such Mat-  
ters, from the Principles I have al-  
ready

ready set down in the beginning of this Chapter, or from the Number and Height of Houses, Streets, Market-places, Trades, than from what unjudicious Authors tell us at random, who contradict themselves, and lead their Readers into numberless Errors.

*Nardini* tells us, after *Donatus* and *Publius Victor*, that there were not above Forty Two or Forty Six Thousand Houses, and that they were but One Story high, and that the People did lodge upon the Plain, which is to say, that they had no upper Rooms.

The People did not lodge in Cellars, as a great many do at *London*, because the River did often swell to a prodigious height, and overflow all, and even overturn the greatest of their Publick Buildings, as appears by these Verses of *Horace*;

*Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis  
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,  
Ire dejectum Monumenta Regis  
Templaque Vestæ.*

which shews also, that that City was not well situated at all.

*Lipsius*

*Lipsius* thinks that the Houses of the common People might be generally about Seventy Foot high, and that before *Augustus's* Time they were higher, but that this Emperor did restrain their former way of building Houses so high to Seventy Foot; and he says that *Nero* did the same after the Fire of *Rome*, and that their Houses were more Capacious and Handsomer than ours, and generally of a far better Structure; and their Roof in Form of a Tortoise-shell, and not narrow like ours, which takes of their Capaciousness as well as their Handsomness. But that there were many Houses, especially the Publick ones, much above that Height, and that the Houses of the People could not be less than Four or Five Stories high.

Lips. p. 184.

Augustus

Princeps cum

ambitionem

in adificando

videret at-

que altè at-

tollendo, &amp;c.

coercuit, &amp;

70 pedes defi-

nivit in modo

adificiorum.

Nero hoc ip-

sum postea

secutus, &amp;c.

Hic ambitio-

ne impulsus

urbem incen-

dit ut novam

melioremque

repararet, &amp;c.

Si vulgo a-

des omnes

septuagenum

pedum, satis

conspicua ea

altitudo pre-

sertim ubi

tectæ com-

pluviata aut

testudinata,

quod sæpe. Nostra hac pectinata, & in angustum surgentia, aliquid de dignitate minunt, sed & capacitatem tollunt. In tali autem altitudine quid minus quam quaterna aut quina canacula quorum frequentia studebant, &c. Multa ades, & in primis omnes publica extra hanc legem fuerunt, viz. altiores.

*Vossius* was also in the same Sentiment, that their Houses were higher, and had more Stories than ours; and that *Augustus*, and after him *Nero*,

Voss. p. 33.

&amp; 34. Roma

altiores &amp;

plurium con-

signationum

fuisse domos.

OR- quam nostra

*fieri soleant  
Ætate. Sub-  
limitatem Do-  
mum coer-  
cuit Augustus  
& postea Nero  
modum Edi-  
ficiorum sta-  
tuentes LXX  
pedum altitu-  
dinem.*

order'd the Houses should not exceed the Height of Seventy Foot; and concludes from thence, that such a vast Town full of Houses of that Height could not hold less than Fourteen Millions of People.

Now is not this a Contradiction to what both Authors say, that *Augustus* caus'd the City to be built much more magnificent than it was before, and to their approving of what he said, that he had found *Rome* all of Bricks, and did leave it of

Lipf. p. 187. Marble. *Marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritiam invenisset.* What

Proportion was there between such a City all of Marble, with such stately Houses, as they pretend they were before *Augustus*, and their pitiful Streets, which were rather like Alleys than Streets, and their Theatres and Amphitheatres which were all of Wood before *Augustus*; and even in

P. 128. *Am-  
phitheatra  
ante tempore  
Augusti tem-  
poranea pri-  
mum & e  
Ligno.*

Ibid. *Ca-  
sar ipse Fuli-  
us jam Dicta-  
tor Amphi-  
theatrum  
Ligneum ex-  
struxit.*

*Julius Caesar's* Time some were built with Wood, as *Lipsius* himself owns. Who should have paid the Rent of such vast Houses, since the Nobility and Gentry did inhabit their own *Domus* and Palaces, and there was no Trade at *Rome*, and the People

were



were generally poor, as I shall shew at large.

*Vossius* owns that the Streets were enormous before *Augustus* and *Nero's* Time, and that after *Nero* had burnt the City, it was made up much finer. Who would not think that such a City, where the Peoples Houses were generally Seventy Foot high and above, and the Roofs of the Houses so curious, as our Authors pretend, was a fine City.

*Voss. pag. 16.*  
*Augustus & Nero Vicos qui antea enormes erant direxerunt.*  
*Pag. 36. Ex incendio Neronis pulchrior prodit Roma.*

*Nardini* contradicts what these Authors say concerning the Height of the Houses; *La Gente habitava in piano*, the People did live upon the Ground-Floor, says he. He contradicts also what they say of the State-liness of the Houses of the People, and tells us they were extraordinary mean. He confirms what *Vossius* said that the Streets were difform, *Le strade erano distortæ*; and Reason shews us the Houses could not be otherwise than low, since the Streets were so narrow; or else the Streets and the Houses must have been very dark and unhealthy, nor would the Streets have been able to hold so great a Multitude of People as there would

*Nardini p. 24.*

have been, and much less the great Number of Horses, Carts, and Porters, which are requisite to carry all Necessaries, where the Houses are so thick and high. How should it be possible to rebuild old high Houses in such narrow Streets? Where would the Materials stand? And then if any of their Houses had fallen, it would have damag'd the opposite House. I confess I cannot well conceive how their Houses could have been so high, and the Town very populous, seeing the Streets were so narrow, as not to bear so much as Two of our Carts a-breast; I do not know how they could carry heavy Burthens about Town, they must either have had very narrow Carts and Sledges, or have done it by Hand-work. And truly I cannot imagine how they did carry their great Stones and Columns about the Town.

Authors say that the *Septizonium Severi* was look'd upon as a Wonder of Art, because of its Height, it was Seven Stories high, as the Word shews, every Story being mark'd from without with a kind of Girdle; others pretend that they were Seven

Gal-

Galleries one upon another. That Height had not been so wonderful at *Rome*, if the Houses of the People had been generally so high as our Authors do pretend.

Let us imagine such high Houses upon the Tops of their Hills, in such narrow Streets, what Labour would it have been for the People that inhabited the upper Rooms of such Houses, to carry their Necessaries thither from the Markets, which were all in the Middle of the City, as all Historians do unanimously agree. So that those who liv'd somewhat remote from the Markets, must have been extremely fatigu'd, especially if it had been so large as our Authors will have it; and, by the by, I shall observe here, that the Town was very ill contriv'd for a great Number of People to live in; all the Markets being in the Middle of it, the Streets so narrow, and the River so remote from the greatest part of it: By that means the Market-places were also very remote from the River, which is another great Inconvenience.

Besides that, it had been very imprudent to build such vast Houses in

many Places, where the River was us'd to undermine them.

The Streets are now broader, and the Houses higher, because they have found better ways to secure them against the River than they had then.

There are several old Buildings and Monuments of those Times yet extant, which are sunk prodigiously, as the Columns of *Trajan* and *Antonine* above-mention'd; but many others have been utterly destroy'd by the Water.

I do not deny but that there might be some Houses Three, Four, or Five Stories high; 'tis certain their Publick Buildings and Temples were generally stately, and under the Emperors some of the Noblemens Houses, but for the generality the Houses of the People were low.

I will not take Notice here of the bad Waters of that River, which are always nasty and yellow, as *Horace* has describ'd them in the Place above-mention'd, when he calls the *Tiber* yellow: For altho' it was a great Inconvenience, I shall not insist much upon it, because they had abundance of good Springs and Conduits which might

*Vidimus flavum Tiberim, &c.*



might serve their turn in many Parts of the City; and some say that even the *Tiber's* Water is tolerable to drink when settled.

There is one Thing more to be taken notice of, which is of a very great moment in point of populating or depopulating a Country, *viz.* Religion. Now the Religion of the *Romans*, if we may call it so, was not so proper and advantagious for the populating of a great Town as the Christian Religion is; altho' I confess that it was far better for that purpose, or not so contrary to it, as Popery, which has subjected Nations to a foreign Tyrant, and an Usurper's Yoke. I mean the Pope, who plunders and impoverishes them continually, by his Tricks, Tyranny, Cruelty, Perfidiousness, Impostures, and Cheats, and by the innumerable Armies of his idle, vicious, and ravenous Clergy. The old *Romans* were very ignorant in Matters of Religion, and idolatrous as well as the Papists; but there was not such an horrid Tyranny practis'd upon Consciences as in Popery, and such Cruelty against the Dissenters in point

of Worship, and their Morals did not countenance Perfidiousness and Barbarity, as well as Sodomy, for the Interest of their *Summus Pontifex*, or of his Clergy. We cannot tax the Religion of the old *Romans* with many great Political Mischiefs, whereas that of the Papists does cause many such, to the Desolation and Ruin of the Popish Nations, and even of the Protestants in great measure, by its pernicious Influences, and its continual Tricks and Plots against 'em, as I could demonstrate here, if it was not out of our Subject. Now I find only Three or Four Things, wherein the Ignorance of the old *Romans* was of pernicious Consequence to the Publick. First, In respect of their Gladiators, which was an abominable thing, for by that means they destroy'd every Year several Thousands of Men to no purpose, wherein they did shew great Inhumanity, and Ignorance of the Value of Men in a Nation. At first indeed they pretended to expiate the Sins of their dead Friends by Sacrifices of Men, and appease the Gods by the Immolation of those Victims;

but

but by degrees, the brutish People taking Delight in such Executions, the Senate and great Men in the time of the Republick made it a Diversi-  
 on for the Rabble, and the Emperors afterwards caus'd many more of those poor Creatures to be butcher'd every Year, for diverting the People: For 'twas observ'd that some Years above Twenty Thousand were put to Death for their Sport. The Emperor *Constantine* was the first who put an End to these Diabolical Pastimes, but *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* restored them again, and at last *Honorius* did abolish them for ever. We might also tax their Religion, or rather Ignorance, with the execrable Crime of Sodomy, which was almost as common amongst the old *Romans* as 'tis now among the Clergy at *Rome*. We might likewise tax their Religion, or Ignorance, with their boundless Ambition, Pride and Injustice, in endeavouring to bring all the World under their Yoke, and being the universal Usurpers of Kingdoms and States, as far as their Arms could reach.

If we except those Three or Four Heads, I do not observe that their  
 Reli-

Religion was any ways more prejudicial to the Publick, in respect of the Temporal, than that of the Christians, I mean the Protestants, as they practise it generally, but only in this, that the Idolatry, which they were guilty of, is the greatest of Sins before God's Eyes; but politically speaking, one may say in that Case, Let the Punishment of it be left to God; as they us'd to say, *Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ*. I own they had also too many Priests of different Orders, as the Papists have, who follow their Example and Religion in a great many Points. For altho' they were marry'd, and were nothing near so mischievous to the Publick as Popish Ecclesiasticks are, yet they did also cheat and impose upon the People, to rob them of their Mony and Estates. They had too many of 'em, as for Example, their great and small Priests, *Pontifices majores & minores*, under a great many Names, as *Salii, Titii, Feciales, Aruspices, Augures, Fratres Arvales, Curiones*, from whence the Word *Curates*, *Potitii, Pinarii, Pullarii, Capnomantes*, the *Duumviri, Decemviri, Quindecimviri, Gal-*



li the Priests of *Cybele*, *Lupercales*, *Pontifices*, *Herculis Sacerdotes*, &c. every God or Goddess almost had their special Priests: That sort of Men, amongst all Idolaters, is the worst sort of Men. However, God be thanked, we do not practise here at *London* those Crimes of suffering Men to be murther'd with Impunity and for Diversiſion, as they did at *Rome*; nor allow Liberty for the execrable Crime of Sodomy, as they did, which is against Population, and must certainly have done great Prejudice to their City: We are not guilty neither of that pernicious and restless Ambition of conquering all the World, as they were; and the Christian Religion abhors that Injustice: Neither have we such a vast Number of Ecclesiasticks, and those we have are not mischievous to the Publick, as theirs were.

So that, by what has been said, any body may see that there were great Reasons, why *Rome* could never grow so populous as *London* now is. But an Objection will be made here.

That

That the Head City of the greatest Empire that ever was, must needs have been, for that very Reason, the greatest City in the World. But this is a Mistake, for very often there are some Cities in a Nation bigger than that which is the Head of them, or the Prince's Residence: Because this depends chiefly upon the Trade, Situation, River, Air, Sea-port, Ground, &c. The Example of several Countries in *Europe* shews us the contrary of what they imagine. *France* is a Kingdom of a much larger Extent than *England*, and yet its Head City, *Paris*, is much inferior in Bigness to *London*. There are several Cities in *Europe* bigger than the Head City of their Country; *Messina* is bigger than *Palermo*, the Capital of *Sicily*: *Dantzick* in *Poland* than *Cracow*, the Capital of that Kingdom: And *Rome* Modern, which may be look'd upon as the Head of a very great Empire, (I mean, the Pope's Spiritual Empire, and is the Head of all *Italy* under that Notion, as well as of many other Popish Countries) is lesser than *Naples*, *Milan*, and *Venice*, as to the Number of Inhabitants; altho'

altho' the Pope, who lives there, has greater Revenues by much, than either the Territory of *Venice*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, or the Dutchy of *Milan* yields, or than any other *Italian* Prince has, and his Court is more numerous and richer than that of any of the other *Italian* States.

Every body knows that *Naples* and *Milan*, which are both depending upon the Monarchy of *Spain*, are much more populous than *Madrid* is, because of their being fitter for Trade; the one being situated near the Sea, in a good Ground, and admirable Air; and the other enjoying also the Benefit of a very fruitful Land, and of many Rivers or convenient Channels of Water: And altho' *Madrid* was the Head City of the whole Universe, and the *Spaniards* had subdued more Nations than the *Romans* ever did, being still situated where it is, with such a pitiful River, it could not subsist double the Number of the People that are living at present in it, and they would be in great danger of starving sooner or later; for at this Day the People labour very often under great Scarcity.

What

What Prudence would it be for a People to settle there in great Numbers, and for a Prince to assemble great Multitudes of People to have them starv'd?

I confess *Rome* was, under the Emperors, the only City that made any great Figure in the World. The *Romans* had ruin'd all other great ones, and therefore had enrich'd and peopled *Rome* with their Spoils, and for that very Reason it seem'd to them so much the more populous, because it had no Rival in the World; but for all this, it was not capable of maintaining so many People as *London* does, for the Reasons before said.

I shall give other Instances, to shew that great Courts of Princes are not capable, alone, to render a Town so populous. Every body knows that *Prague* in *Bohemia*, belonging to the Emperor, is much bigger than *Vienna*, and more populous, altho' the last is the Emperor's Residence; and altho' the River of *Vienna* is far bigger than that of *Prague*: The Reason of which is, that the *Danube* is not very fit for Trade, being too rapid,

and



and cannot be fail'd upwards for that Reason, and the Ground is generally much better about *Prague* than about *Vienna*.

If we believe Relations of *Cairo* in *Egypt*, which belongs to the Grand Seignior, it is more populous than *Constantinople*, the Residence of that potent Monarch, because of its admirable River, and the extraordinary Fruitfulness of that Country of *Egypt*.

We see even by the Example of the same City of *Constantinople*, that a good Sea-port, good Soil, Air, and Situation, with its being the Head of a vast Empire, are not sufficient to render a Town as populous as *London* is, because that other important things are wanting, such as Liberty and Property, Trade, Manufactures, and a good Civil Government; for it's known that their Government is very hard; their Religion also, tho' much less contrary to the Politick and Publick Good than Popery, is not so advantagious as the Protestant Religion.

On the contrary, we see by the Example of *Amsterdam*, that a Town, by

by Sea Trade, and by the help of many Rivers and Channels, Manufactures, good Government, and Religion, without its being the Capital of a State, or the Residence of a potent Prince, and of the chief Courts of Justice, or University, and without any other Territory than that of Two inconsiderable Villages, we see (I say) that *Amsterdam* is become one of the richest and most populous Towns in the whole World.

The City of *Hamburgh* likewise, by means of its Trade, River, Manufactures, Religion, and mild Government, is richer and more populous (tho' it has but a small Territory of Twenty or Thirty Villages belonging to it) than *Madrid* or *Vien-na*, because *Hamburgh* enjoys the Benefit of a Sea-Trade by its excellent River of a long Course, with a good Religion also, and a good Civil Government.

Such a River as they have enriches and peoples the Town, and such a Town enriches and peoples the Country adjacent, and this last afterwards peoples and enriches again the Town more and more. It makes Ma-  
nufactures

manufactures, Fishing and Navigation  
 to flourish in the City, and Husbandry  
 in the Country; it revives Industry.  
 Was it possible that *Hamburg* should  
 keep its Trade and its Prosperity, with  
 its being at the same time Popish, which  
 I think incompatible: But if it was possi-  
 ble, in less than Twenty Years time it  
 would be, if not the richest, at least the  
 greatest City in all *Germany*, and become  
 as big as *Amsterdam* is at present, by  
 the Multitude of Monasteries and Con-  
 vents which would be set up, and would  
 increase it by half in half in Extent,  
 altho' not in Riches or Multitude of  
 People. So great is the Advantage of a  
 good Sea-port, and good River, as also  
 good Religion and Government.

'Tis also for the same Reasons, of the  
 Trade and Protestant Religion, that  
*Stockholm* and *Copenhagen*, both Capital  
 Cities of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, two  
 Kingdoms much inferior to that of  
*Spain*, or the Territories possess'd by  
 the Emperor, have as much or more  
 People than either *Vienna* or *Madrid*; and  
 were it not for the Monasteries and Convents of

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the two last, they would be twice as large in Extent as the last.

*Paris*, as we have already observed, is much better situated than *Rome*, for the Subsistence of a great Multitude, because of its many Rivers; but without them, altho' the *French* King's Court was Three or Four Times as big as 'tis, and his Household proportionably too, and that the Jurisdiction of all the Courts of Justice was treble to what it is, as also the University, and Number of Church-men and Publicans, &c. and that the *French* Empire was Four times as big as 'tis, there would not be the half, nor the third part of the People that there is at present. It's known, that notwithstanding its Rivers, they labour very often under a great Scarcity of Provisions. All the new Relations of *China* do tell us, that *Nankin* is bigger and more populous than the Capital of the Empire, viz. *Pekin*, because this has no River nor Sea-port, and lyes in a barren Province.

They tell you also, that there are other Cities in the same Kingdom as big and populous as *Pekin*: I confess there



there are many Fables in those Relations, but however they are credited.

According to a Relation publish'd some Years ago by Mr. Carr, who was Consul at *Amsterdam* for the *English* Nation, concerning the Number of Houses in all the great Cities of *Italy*, there should be as much People in *London*, as in the Ten or Twelve biggest Cities of *Italy*. Let us suppose then that the Inhabitants of *Naples*, *Milan*, *Venice*, *Genua*, *Bologna*, *Florence*, *Turin*, and Three or Four more of the greatest Cities of *Italy*, were added to the present Inhabitants of *Rome*; how can it be imagin'd that they could subsist there, altho' all the Inhabitants of those several Countries, who do now supply all those Cities, were added to those that are already in the adjacent Country to *Rome*, to till and manure the Ground, and altho' even an Imperial Court never so numerous should reside there? I do not believe that the greatest and potentest Emperor that ever was, would be able to maintain such a vast Multitude of People in *Rome*, with all his Revenues, for Twenty Years together.

People do commonly fancy that the Nobility and Gentry of the City of *Rome*, who were numerous, such as were of the Order of Senators and Knights, *Senatorii Ordinis & Equites*, and all those Families who were in great Posts, or descended from Dictators, Tribunes of the People, or Censors, Prætors, Quæstors, Ædiles, Consuls, Proconsuls, &c. People, I say, do fancy, that they were generally extraordinary rich, and therefore that the City was so much the more populous. But 'tis a very great Mistake, as I shall shew in its proper Place: Our Nobility, Gentry, Lawyers, Merchants, Manufacturers, Tradesmen, and those who belong to the Faculty of Medicine, are generally much richer than they were at *Rome*; and had their Senators and Knights been generally richer than our Noblemen and Gentry, it would not prove that the Generality of the People would have been so too; for they had very few able Merchants, Tradesmen and Shop-keepers. There was not the Fourth part of Shops, Arts, and Handicrafts, we have in *London*. If it were an easie Matter to

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to determine the Number of each sort of Inhabitants in *London*, I should reckon that the People addicted to these last sorts of Trade, with their Wives, Children, and Servants, may constitute about Four Parts in Ten of the whole People of *London*; the Manufacturers about Two, or One and a half; the Merchants, as distinguish'd from the former, and all those who are relating to Sea-Trade, or to the Trade into the Country, about Three; the Court, Noblemen, Gentry, Clergy, Lawyers, Soldiers, and the Strangers or Travellers, hardly One and a half. So that that last Species of People, who did compose with their Servants the greatest Part of *Rome*, is the least considerable at *London*: It was a Town and People quite different from ours, as to the Form of their Constitution.

For it appears, by the *Roman* History, that Merchants were not valu'd, nor Tradesmen, Shop-keepers or Handicraftsmen; but only Soldiers, Political Men, and Husbandmen, which were but One: For the same Men, call'd Citizens, were now and then either Soldiers, or Magi-

strates, or Husbandmen. The Town of *Rome* was most compos'd of those sorts of People, in the Times both of the Common-wealth and Emperors, *viz.* Senators, Equites, Soldiers, Officers of Justice, Police, Finances, and the Clergy with their Families; the Retinue of all these People were very numerous, and for the most part all Slaves. There were also some few Merchants, Tradesmen, and Shop-keepers; and some Strangers also, who came thither either out of Curiosity, or upon Business; some few Literate Men, and that under the Emperors only. The Arts which flourish'd, and that most under the Emperors, were Architecture, Sculpture, Carving, Joining, Gilding, the Goldsmiths and Jewellers Trades, Blacksmiths, Dancing, Musick-masters, and several Trades about their Games, the Stage, and their Shews and Baths; as also about their Arms, and concerning the War, as about what belongs to Horse and Foot-Soldiers, Sables, Swords, and other Arms; Bakers, Taylors, Shoemakers, Vintners, Carpenters, some few Seamen and Fishermen, some Wool.



Woollen or Linnen Weavers, Ma-  
sons, Cart-wrights, some few Ship-  
wrights, &c.

The greatest part of Trades, Arts,  
and Handicrafts, us'd among us, have  
been invented since, and those that  
were known then have been very  
much improv'd. For the most part  
they did live very soberly and fru-  
gally, even under the Emperors, al-  
tho' Vices and Luxuriousness increa-  
sed. They had under the *Cæsars*  
more Soldiers in constant Pay than  
before, *viz.* the Pretorian Guards  
and some others.

The most part of Trades at *Rome*  
were only for the Use of the great  
ones, because the Generality of the  
People were poor, and very simply  
lodg'd, accoutred, and fed; and 'tis  
certain that those great People had  
Slaves of all Trades in their own  
Houses, who work'd for them, and  
even for others who did hire them:  
Whereas almost all our People at  
*London* can live very well, either of  
their Revenue, or Labour and Indu-  
stry. We have here in *London* Sixty  
mighty Corporations of Tradesmen,  
Handicrafts and Artists, besides the

Court, the Merchants, Lawyers, Physicians, Clergymen, Students, Nobility, Gentry, and Travellers; and I dare say, an Hundred very considerable Corporations more could be made up, of all the other Trades different from the Sixty that are establish'd, as I could shew: And I dare say that hardly Twenty considerable ones could have been made in *Rome*. I find but few Trades there, and they did chiefly relate either to the Military Art, or to Architecture, Sculpture, &c. which Two latter were carry'd on to Perfection, because they had invited or forc'd the best Workmen of *Asia*, *Africa*, *Græcia*, and *Sicily*, to settle themselves at *Rome*.

*Rome* was rather a Court-City than otherwise, as well under the Common-wealth as under the Emperors; and *London* is more a City of Trade than of Court, altho' the Court be very numerous and rich.

Notwithstanding all the Magnificence and Pomp of the *Romans*, in their Publick Buildings and Shews, in the Time of the Emperors, and before, I am apt to believe that the Expences and Consumption made in  
*London*

*London* would amount to Four times as much as was made in *Rome*, and consequently more People can live and subsist by it.

The Court, Nobility, Gentry, Military Officers, Lawyers, and all those addicted to Law, Civil Government, Finances, Physick, Divines, and Travellers, do not spend the Fifth part of what is spent in *London*; whereas at *Rome* those sort of People did spend the most part of what was spent there, altho' we see by History that their People of Quality did live more in their Country-houses than in the City, especially in the Time of the Common-wealth.

I have been the more prolix upon this Argument, because it is the most plausible of any that can be brought for the Populoufness of that Town: Now I must answer also all the other Objections that may be made upon this Subject, and omit nothing material to the Point. And when we come to examine the Riches or Poverty of the City of *Rome*, we will find other Arguments against its being so populous as 'tis generally thought.

Some

Some may object the *Lustra* or Reviews of the People at *Rome*, which Historians take Notice of, and where, by it seems that the People of *Rome* were more numerous than we pretend them to have been.

I answer that we have no Account in any Author of the *Lustres* of all the Men, Women, Children and Slaves of *Rome*, but only of all the fighting Men belonging to the Five and Thirty Tribes, who alone were called Citizens, and who every Fifth Year were oblig'd to pass Muster before the Censors, or the Tribunes of the People, in the Field of *Mars*.

And there is such a prodigious Variety and Inequality in the Accounts of those *Lustres*, or Reviews of all the Soldiers belonging to the Thirty Five Tribes, that is, to the Thirty One Rustick ones, and to the Four Urbanes, that sometimes they amount to Two, Three, or Four Hundred Thousand Men, and an Hundred Years after, instead of having increased, they were fallen to the Half of that Number, because they had been destroy'd in the Wars; which shews plainly that their *Lustres* did concern only



only that sort of People who were listed for the War, when Occasion should require; and *Lipsius* and *Vossius* contradict one another upon this Subject, as we shall see hereafter.

That any body may the better judge of this, I will give here the List of all those *Lustra*, as we have it from *Vossius* himself, whereby it will be plain that it was only the true Citizens and Soldiers of the Thirty Five Tribes who were muster'd, and not all the Inhabitants of *Rome*.

*Quando Roma fuerit maxima, & Hominum in Roma multitudo.*

*Ut ex Censibus institutis & conditis* Voss. p. 291  
*Lustris certissimum crescentis Reipub-* 30. &c.  
*licæ potest haberi Argumentum; ita contra eorum neglectum & supinas curas certissimum decrescantis aut fatiscantis Reipublicæ, fuisse indicium de eo dubitare nos non permittunt Scriptores antiqui: Ut itaque sciamus quibus gradibus Urbs & Civitas Romana, ad tantam sit provecta magnitudinem dicendum nonnihil de Censibus. Primum Lustrum institutum fuisse constat regnante*

## A Comparison between

*nante Servio Tullio, idem quoque alia instituit Lustra in quibus dicuntur censa Civium Millia LXXX, & LXXXIV. Anno Urbis Conditæ CCXLV. censa fuere Civium Millia CXXX.*

*A. U. C. CCLVI. censa fuere Millia Civium CL, & insuper DCC.*

*A. U. C. CCLX. propter Intestinas Discordias & Seditiones, & insuper Bella externa, reperta fuere non plura Civium Millia quam centum & decem.*

*A. U. C. CCLXXIX. censa fuere Millia centum & triginta.*

*A. U. C. CCLXXXVIII. censa Civium capita quatuor & viginti Millia, & insuper quindecim præter orbos orbasque, ut habet Livius.*

*A. U. C. CCXCIV. censa fuere Civium Millia CXXXII, & insuper CDXIX.*

*A. U. C. CCCLXI. censa CLII Millia, & DLXXX.*

*A. U. C. CDX. censa Millia CLX.*

*A. U. C. CDXXXV. Millia CCL.*

*A. U. C. CDLIX. Millia CCLXII.*

*A. U. C. CDLXXII. Millia CCLXXVIII, & CCXXII.*

*A. U. C. CDLXXVIII. post pulsum Italia Pyrrhum censa fuere Millia*

*lia CCLXXI, & CCXXIV; unde apparet bello hoc Epirotico multos fuisse absumptos cives.*

*A. U. C. CDLXXXVIII. Millia CCXCII, & CCXXIV.*

*A. U. C. DI. censa Millia CGXCVII, & insuper CCXXVII.*

*A. U. C. DVI. censa Millia CCLI, & CCXXII; unde apparet quam multi belli Punici tempore Terra Marique perierint.*

*A. U. C. DXII. censa Millia CCLX.*

*A. U. C. DXXXVIII. censa Millia CCIX, & CCXIII.*

*A. U. C. DXLIV. censa fuere tantum Civium Millia CXXXVIII, & CVIII; unde colligas dimidiam Romanæ civitatis partem secundo bello Punico pene fuisse absorbtam.*

*A. U. C. convocatis undique Civibus censa fuere Romæ Millia CCXV.*

*A. U. C. DLIX. censa Millia CCXLIII & DCCIV.*

*A. U. C. DLXIV. censa Millia CCLVIII, & CCCXXVIII.*

*A. U. C. DLXXIV. censa Millia CCLXIII, & CCXLIV.*

*A. U. C. DLXXIX. censa Millia CCLXIX — XV.*

*A.*

A. U. C. DLXXXIV. *censa* Millia  
CCCXII — DCDV.

A. U. C. DLXXXIX. *censa* Millia  
CCCXXVII, & XXII.

A. U. C. DXCIV. *censa* Millia  
CCCXXVIII — CCCXIV.

A. U. C. DXCIX. *censa* Millia CCCXXIV.

A. U. C. DCVI. *censa* Millia CCCXXII.

A. U. C. DCXI. *censa* Millia CCCXXVIII  
— DLXII.

A. U. C. DCXVII. *censa* Millia  
CCCXXXIII.

A. U. C. DCXXII. *censa* Millia  
CCCLXVII — DCDXIII.

A. U. C. DCXXVIII. *censa* Millia  
CCCXC — DCCXXXV.

A. U. C. DCXXXVIII. *censa* Millia  
CCCXCIV — CCCXXVI.

A. U. C. DCLXVII. *censa* Millia  
CCCLXIV, *uti habet Eusebii Chronicon quamvis exemplaria nonnulla manu exarata ampliorem exhibeant numerum nempe CCCLXXXIII.*

'Tis true, Historians mention some Computations of the People, which did amount to several Millions: And *Moreri* tells us in his Dictionary that *Augustus* found Thirteen Millions, One Thousand and Thirty Seven Persons



Persons in *Rome*; and that in *Tiberius's* Time there were Sixteen Hundred Thousand and Two Hundred Ninety One Men cens'd, that is, as Soldiers in *Rome*: And he adds, that there seems to be some Exaggeration in that. He is of Opinion that there were only about Four or Five Millions of People in *Rome*, and that *Rome* was about Fifty Miles in Compass without the Suburbs.

*Lipsius* says also that in *Augustus's* Time Four Millions and Sixty Three Thousand Citizens were cens'd or list'd in *Rome*; and that under *Claudius* there were Six Millions, Nine Hundred Sixty Four Thousand cens'd: And that afterwards whole Cities and Regions were admitted into the City of *Rome*. But 'tis plain the same *Lipsius* cannot believe that himself, since he reckons only Four Millions of Souls in *Rome*, pag. 162. altho' he reckon'd indeed before as many Slaves in it; but he is full of such Contradictions.

*Lips.* pag. 161, 162.  
*Augustus in Consulari suo sexto Lustrum condidit quo censu sunt Censum Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia & sexaginta tria. At etiam crevit assidue. Et sub Claudio Imperatore Tacitus ac fidei Authores accensent sexagies novies centena sexaginta quatuor millia. Ul-*

*Vos-*

*tra quarere Supervacuum sit, cum jam passim in Civitatem tota Urbes Regionisque recepta.*

Voss. p. 29. *Vossius* says that all those *Lustra* did signifie nothing to the purpose, because they did not shew the Greatness of the Town, but that of the *Roman Empire*, that is to say, they were rather a Review of the People of the Empire, than of that of the Town.

*Quod vero Lustra attinet qua instituit & condidit Augustus, in quibus censita fuere supra quadragies centena millia Civium Romanorum capita, illa ad rem nihil faciunt, cum non Urbis, sed Romani Imperii magnitudinem ostendant.*

Voss. p. 29. He also tells us that *Eusebius* in his *Chronicles* reports, that *Augustus* with *Tiberius* did take a Review of the Inhabitants of *Rome* fit to bear Arms, wherein above Nine Millions, Six Hundred and Seventy Thousand Men were found. But adds, that he believes it may be question'd.

*ptuaginta Hominum millia. Verum de hoc amplius deliberandum censeo, &c.*

Pag. 31. *Clarum est Civium qui Romam versarentur, nullam apud Scriptores occurrere mentionem post recensum Caesaris, quo redacti fuere ad 150 millium summam.* But in another Place he contradicts plainly all those vain and foolish Assertions, by saying, That it is evident there is no Mention made in all the Writers of the Number of the Citizens living in *Rome*, after the Review or *Census* made by *Cæsar*, wherein their Number was reduc'd to One Hundred and Fifty Thousand.

stand. So that it appears from the Confusion there is in the Opinion of those Authors, as to those *Census* or *Réviews* of the People, that we cannot rely upon them in the least.

And *Vossius's* Opinion seems to be the more depended upon as to that, that he has been very extravagant as to the Multitude of People he ascribes to Old *Rome*, viz. Fourteen Millions of Souls.

Those great Lists comprehended certainly the Men of the Empire, and not of the Town, altho' 'tis certain that Computations were made also now and then, of all the Inhabitants of *Rome* generally, Men, Women, Children, Servants, and Slaves, and of all their Estates and Goods, in order to regulate their Taxes, and the Capitation accordingly. But there is no List or Account of any of these Computations now to be found. 'Tis only known that there was such a thing, but not what it was. Those *Memoirs* are lost, as also a great many others, whereby we might have had a better Knowledge of Old *Rome* than we have.

Francesco Bocchi, pag. 294. *Del Censo adunque del Comune, dove Tutto il Popolo Romano era compreso, il quale contenne la gente da portar Arme & la Civile, & altresì l'inutile, del tutto co libri si è perduta la memoria, & solo si legge del Censo Historico, che comprendeva la gente civile & guerriera.*

Francesco Bocchi does confirm it, when he says, that the Registers wherein all the People of Rome were comprehended, viz. the Soldiers and true Citizens fit for the War and Civil Government, as also the useles People (he means Women, Children, Servants, Foreigners, Shop-keepers, Handicrafts and Tradesmen) are all lost, as well as the Books which took Notice of them; and we find nothing in ancient Records but what concerns the historical List, which did comprehend only the Soldiers and Citizens.

Pag. 230, & 231. *Et senza dubbio è Stata gran perdita di scritti - cose nobili & cose pregiati, onde chiara-mente si poteva sapere quello, che hoggi non ci comprende, se non per Congettura.*

And in another Place he says, that the World has suffer'd a great Loss, in losing so many noble and valuable Writings about other Things as well as those, whereby we might have learn'd exactly that which we do not comprehend now, but by Conjecture.

They may also object what Eusebius says, that in the Time of Nero there dy'd of the Plague Three Hundred Thou-



Thousand in One Year, and under *Vespasian* Ten Thousand a Day; and *Suetonius* relates that under a certain Emperor there were One Million and Four Hundred Thousand Souls in the City.

They may say also, that when Corn, Wine and Oyl were distributed to the People, in the time of the Frumentations, as they call'd it, it was distributed to several Hundred Thousands. *Lipsius* says, pag. 171. that before *Cæsar's* Time their Number did exceed Three Hundred Thousand, but that it decreas'd mightily afterwards.

I answer, That as to the Number of those whom the Plague did snatch away, besides the ordinary Aggravation in such cases, if it was exactly true, it would prove nothing, because the People of the Thirty Five Tribes were comprehended amongst that of the City, as we shall see, and was the greatest Part of it.

I say the same as to the Frumentations; the Thirty Five Tribes were concerned in them, they did constitute the City of *Rome*, as well as the Inhabitants of *Rome* it self, and were

in its Neighbourhod. And we have no Account also of these Frumentations, as is easily perceiv'd by the blind and uncertain Account *Lipsius* gives of them; all those Memoirs are lost.

*Lipsius* says that all the Soldiers in the City were Partakers of these Frumentations, and all the Court with all the People who did belong to it; as also all the Soldiers belonging to their Fleets. He says that whole Families had a Share in it, and that even rich Men receiv'd it, under the Name of their Slaves whom they had set at Liberty: And insinuates that not only the Poor were admitted to it, but others also who kept Servants.

*Liberos, Servulos habuisse; annon probabiliter urbani illi omnes milites in consortium hujus frumenti venerunt. Quidni etiam ipsa Aula & Palatini annonas suas hinc acceperint? Annon probabile est & Classarios ipsos in Italia milites. Hi pauperes, aut saltem qui sublevati gauderent, inter quos liberti, & id genus, maxime fuere.*

If all the Reasons I have brought against their pretended Extent of the City, and Multitude of People in it, are not sufficient to convince 'em, I shall bring the Authority of *Francesco Bocchi*, who says, the Roman People were call'd

call'd indifferently Republick, City, *Vide Frances-*  
 the Thirty Five Tribes, and the Mi- *co Bocchi, Nel*  
 litary Forces. *fuo Trattato*  
*onde venne*  
*negli antichi*

*secoli la smisurata potenza di Roma, pag. 164. Il Popolo Romano*  
*hora Respublica, hora Citta, hora col nome di XXXV Tribu, o di*  
*Bande militari era nominato.*

He says also, that the Tribes and *Pag. 59. Le*  
 the People of Rome were the same *Tribu & il Po-*  
 Thing. *polo Romano*  
*e una mede-*  
*sima cosa.*

In another Place he says, that the *Pag. 282. E-*  
 People of Rome were very numerous, *ra adunque*  
 and did consist in the Thirty One *il Popolo Ro-*  
 Rustick Tribes, who did live out of *mano nume-*  
 Rome in the Country, and in the *rossissimo, &*  
 Four Urbane Tribes within the Walls *habitava in*  
 of the City. *XXXI Ban-*  
*de, o Tribu*  
*Rustiche fuori*  
*di Roma nel*  
*Contado, &*

*in IV Tribu Urbane dentro delle Mura della Citta.*

He tells us afterwards, that the *Pag. 284. Il*  
 Lustris or Reviews did comprehend *Censo adun-*  
 only Men of Merit, fit for War, for *que se si con-*  
 Magistracy and Publick Government, *sidera bene,*  
 and in a Word, the Citizens of Va- *non contene-*  
 lue. Hence 'tis that Authors speak *va & non re-*  
 so differently of the Number of those *gistrava, se*  
 who were registred, or pass'd the Re- *non huomini*  
 view: *da fatti di*  
*stima & da*  
*Governi pub-*  
*lici, & da*  
*Magistrati,*  
*& da portar*  
*Arme, & da*  
*ac-*

*Censa fuere Civium Romano-*  
*rum CL, CC, CCC millia. And*

*Travagliare in guerra, & Cittadini in somma di Valere. Perche gli Scrittori, variato il numero de gli huomini sempre dicono. Censa fuere Civium Romanorum CL, CC, CCC* according to the Number they found in that Year, more or less Men were registred. Whereby 'tis plain, that they were only Citizens who were written in the List; and every body knows that Women, Children, Shopkeepers, and Strangers in *Rome*, were not and ought not to have been reputed Citizens.

*millia. Et secondo il numero piu & meno rigistrava la quantita che correva in quel anno. Dove si vede, che non erano, se non Cittadini quelli, i quali scritti erano nel censo; Ma chi non sa che le Donne, i Fanciullini, i Bottegai, i Forestieri non erano in Roma, & non doveano esser riputati Cittadini, &c.*

Pag. 243. He says also, that the Militia and the Citizens were most in the Country about *Rome*: And that to say a Citizen or a Soldier was one and the same thing; as also that the Soldiers were Husbandmen, or Plowmen.

*La Militia & la Civile ta erano nel Contado di Roma. Huomo civile & Huomo da guerra era il medesimo. Il Soldato era Lavoratore di Terra.*

Pag. 270. He tells us again, that the People of *Rome* were very numerous, and did partly live in the City, and partly in the Country, in Thirty Five Tribes about *Rome*. And that the City did not comprehend within its Walls

*271. Era grande il Popolo a dismisura della Repubblica di Roma, di cui parte habitava nella Cit-*



Walls an infinite Multitude of People, but that the People who did live without in the Country, and within the City, were very numerous.

*ta, parte nel Contado in XXXV Tribu intorno a Roma. La Citta non racchiudeva dentro del circuito de sua Mura numero di gente infinito; il Popolo di Roma che habitava fuori nel contado & dentro della Citta, quanto era grande per fare eserciti, &c.*

And he likewise says, that the Bounds of the Country Tribes, who made Part of the City, did comprehend in some Places the Space of Sixty, in others of an Hundred Miles, all about Rome: From one Side as far as the River Arno, and from the other Side as far as the River Garigliano.

*Pag. 268. Intorno a Roma, d'una banda sino al Arno, dall'altra sino al Garigliano.*

In another Place he says, that the common People of the Town, such as Taylors, Artizans, Shoemakers, Shop-keepers, Weavers, &c. were reputed vile, and were not admitted to serve in the War.

*Pag. 148, & 160. Militia Romana non ammetteva Bottegai, ne Artifici. La Plebe della Citta come marmaglia era stimata,*

*inutile, e povera, come quella che era composta di Bottegai, & di Artifici, Calzolai, Tessitori, & altri simili.*

Both Vossius and Lipsius do say, but not prove, that there were Six Hundred Nations at Rome; but what

does that signifie, if it was true? I dare say that we could find as many more at *London*, understanding by a Nation some small Tract of Land, such as our Shires or Part of our Shires are, or Districts: People might be apt to fancy, upon this, that every one of these pretended Nations at *Rome* were very numerous in People, or that they were Six Hundred Nations like *France, Spain, Italy, or Germany*; but it may be, all the Foreigners in *Rome* did not amount to Thirty or Forty Thousand People. We can see in *Lipsius* what capital Countries, or Nations, were under their Yoke, they did not amount to Forty, and among them some inconsiderable ones: I shall mention them afterwards. However, altho' we should grant him that Number of Nations, they could not be every one of them very populous, when *Lipsius* fixes the Number of the Inhabitants at Four Millions, as we have seen.

What *Lipsius* says of the great Number of their Temples, that they had above Four Hundred Twenty Four, does not prove any thing neither: For 'tis usual among Heathens, Pa-

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pists, and Mahometans, to have Abundance of Temples, even in Places which are not populous: Superstition in that Point exceeds the true Religion: And yet we find that they had not many great Temples, but only abundance of Chappels, *Edicule*, as *Publius Victor* calls them. *Georgius Fabritius* has made a great List of their Temples, but for all that he cannot find that there were above 126 of some Note; and other Authors reckon only about 80, and few Basiliques. Altho' we never drew any Argument for the Populoufness of *London*, from the Multitude of Churches, or Places of Divine Worship, yet I dare say we have above Two Hundred Churches in *London*, reckoning all those of the Dissenters and Foreigners, Jews and Papists. *Lipsius* uses these Words, *Fuere Romæ 424. Templâ pleraque ex his magnifica & aliter atque aliter structa aut instructa*; that is, They had at *Rome* Four Hundred Twenty Four Temples that were magnificent, for the most part, and built or adorn'd differently. I wonder he does not reckon as many Temples as there were

Lipf. p. 207.  
 600 Nations  
 pene in Ur-  
 bem conflux-  
 erant, quibus  
 singulis sacra  
 sua Ritusque  
 Patrii essent.

were different Nations, besides the Temples of the *Romans* themselves; especially considering what he says, That Six hundred Nations did inhabit the City, who had their special Rites, and the Worship us'd in their own Country. 'Tis true he adds, that their Religion was not publickly exercis'd, and commends the Piety of the *Romans* in that Point; for, says he, if they did admit any other Religion 'twas by the Oracle's Advice, and it was practis'd according to the *Roman* Fashion, *Romano more culta*, by banishing from it all the nasty Vanities, or the prodigious Fables; *abdicatis fœdis Vanitatibus aut Fabularum portentis*: So that, by his Words, there were no nasty Opinions or Fables in the Religion of the *Romans*. How can a Learned Man speak so, when he pretends to be a Christian? This is a horrid Flattery to the *Romans*: But the Reason of his doing so was undoubtedly, because he had embrac'd Popery, which is at least as foolish and impious in its Worship as the Old *Romans* were, and has adopted many of their Follies; so that this is a kind of Apology for



for the Religion of Modern *Rome*. But, after all, it seems that their *Priapus* and their *Venus*, two of their Deities, were nasty and portentous enough.

*Vossius* does also insinuate to us, Voss. p. 18. Ibi vivebant Cappadoces, Scythæ, Pontici, &c. In Transiberino Judæi & Ægyptii. Alibi Catti, Germani, Daci, & Britanni. that a great many Foreign Nations did inhabit at *Rome*, and names amongst 'em the *Britains*, or *English*. We may easily judge that the *English* were but few in Number there.

It may not be amiss, upon this Subject, concerning the Populousness of *Rome*, to shew how many empty Spaces there were in it, because it confirms what we have said of the Fewness of Houses in it.

### *Of the empty Places in Old*

#### R O M E.

We have prov'd sufficiently, that Old *Rome* was not Thirteen Miles in Circumference, and it may be not Ten, considering the Sinuosities of its Walls; and now I am to shew that there was above the Half of that Space empty.

It

It cannot be doubted, but that there were many empty Places upon the Hills of *Rome*, which were not full of Houses; altho' we must not conceive those Hills, as if they were very high and unaccessible, for they were inhabited, but not so well as the lower Parts of the Town. We know by History, and *Vossius* owns it, that about every one of those Hills the Augurs and other Priests order'd several empty Places to be left for their Processions, and to study the Flying of the Birds, whereby a great Profit did accrue to them, as I have already shewn, when speaking of the Extent. There were Seven Hills, with Three *Colles* among 'em, one call'd *Collis hortulorum*, because full of Gardens; *Vossius* himself owns that there were many empty Places, as we shall see elsewhere; the Two other little Hills were *Collis Vaticanus*, and *Janiculum*.

*Lipsius* owns also, that the Houses of the Nobility and great Men had very large Inclosures, and that within the City there was an innumerable Multitude of Country Houses; as also that their Temples, Basiliques,

filiques, Porches, Circus's, Market-places, Tribunals of Justice, *Fora*, Woods, Bathing-places, &c. did take up the greatest Part of the Town. And indeed they had great Gardens, Vineyards, Orchards, Meadows, &c. in the City, which made the Streets to be few in Number, short and sinuous.

Lips. p. 183.  
Templa, The-  
atra, Basilica,  
Porticus, Cir-  
ci, Fora, Luci,  
Balnea, cetera  
publica, max-  
imam partem  
Urbis occupa-  
runt.

Olimpiodorus  
quoted by  
Lips. p. 199.

*Olimpiodorus* tells us, that every one of the great Houses of *Rome* had within it self whatever a Town of a middle Size can contain, viz. a Cirque, Portico's, Seats of Justice, Temples, Wells, and several Bathing places. And *Lipsius* adds, that there were One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Houses of that sort. The Houses even of the Great Men being generally low, as we call now the Buildings à la Romaine, according to the Old Roman Fashion, they must have been generally of a great Extent; especially if we believe some foolish ancient Authors, and among them \* *Athenæus*, who confidently says, that some of the *Romans* did keep Ten or Twenty Thousand Ser- vants, not to make any Profit of 'em by letting 'em out to work for others,

Quaque ma-  
gnarum Do-  
mum omnia  
in seipsa ha-  
bet, quacunq;  
mediocris Urbs  
possit contine-  
re, nempe Cir-  
cum, Fora,  
Templa, Fontes,  
Balnea di-  
versa, &c.  
Tales autem  
Domus in to-  
ta Urbe fue-  
runt 1780.

\* Lips. p. 176.  
*Athenæus* af-  
firmatè scri-  
bit, quosdam  
Romanorum  
ad 10 aut 20  
millia Servo-  
rum habuisse,  
nec ut qua-  
sum ex iis  
facerent sed ut  
affeclos aut  
subsequas eos  
modo habe-  
rent.

but only to be attended by 'em as they went along the Streets. Certainly those Gentlemen must have had vast Houses to lodge so great a Multitude of Servants and Lackeys. I question whether all the Streets of *Rome*, being so narrow, had been capable of holding Forty Thousand Men walking at once. I wonder that *Lipsius*, who quotes him, does not ridicule him: Instead of that, he says himself, that *Belisarius*, who was the General of *Justinian's* Armies, had Twelve Thousand such Servant-men or Slaves, who were his own. 'Tis true, he does not say that he kept them all at *Rome*, or that they did follow him in the Streets.

*Lips. p. 178.*  
*Belisarius ille*  
*sub Justiniano*  
*magnus, du-*  
*odecim Millia*  
*Puerorum*  
*propria ha-*  
*buit.*

*Voss. p. 23.*  
*Domus Nero-*  
*nis plures Por-*  
*ticus triplices*  
*milliarias, id*  
*est singulas*  
*mille passu-*  
*rum contine-*  
*bat.*

*\* Lips. p. 199.*  
*In Domo Ne-*  
*ronis Porticus*  
*triplices mil-*  
*liaria, item*  
*Stagnum,*  
*Maris instar,*  
*circumsep-*

*tum Aedificiis ad Urbium speciem. Rura insuper, Arvis, atque Vinetis*  
*& Pascuis, Sylvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis Pecudum*  
*ac Ferarum, &c.*

*Vossius* tells us, that the House of *Nero* had many treble Portico's, every one a Thousand Paces long.

\* *Lipsius* says the same, and adds, that there was a great Pond like a Sea, surrounded all about with Houses like a Town; besides several Lands, Vineyards, Pasture-grounds and Woods, with a Multitude of Cattle, and wild Beasts of all kinds, &c.

We



We have seen already the Expostulations of *Valerius* and *Seneca*, against the vast Compass of the Houses of the *Romans*, for they had Palaces, say they, as big as Cities.

Lips. p. 198.  
*Habebant  
Aulas amu-  
las Urbium.*

There were in the City about Nine Hundred Bathing-places for private Persons, and One Thousand Three Hundred Fifty great Cisterns of Water, which they call'd Lakes, *Lacus*.

Their Thermes and publick hot Bathing-places were also very numerous, and some of them of an incredible Bigness, insomuch that their Authors affirm, there were in some above Three Thousand Cells separated one from another, and that they were as large as Provinces, as already said, which is a prodigious Hyperbole. Some did reckon Twenty, others Sixteen great publick Thermes, which had every one of 'em a special Aqueduct or Conduit of Water, and a great Basen or Receptacle to preserve and keep the Water, they call'd it *Castellum aquarum*; for the Inhabitants of *Rome* being a very idle People, and wearing little Linnen at that time, did wash and bathe themselves continually, Winter and Summer,

now

Lips. p. 192.

now in hot and then in cold Water.

Their Temples were also numerous; altho' some Authors mention only 11, some 19, and others 21 Basiliques or stately Temples, but their other Temples, and the Chappels call'd *Ædiculæ*, were in great Numbers, as before said, with Courts and Yards about 'em, and they were all isled.

All the Houses of the common People were also isled, as I said elsewhere. I suppose it was to prevent Fire from the next Houses; that was so order'd by *Nero*, after he had burnt the City; *Ut Domus non communione parietum, sed propriis quæque Muris ambirentur*, as the Authors say; that is, in order that every House should be encompass'd by its own Walls, and not by a common Wall.

Their Theatres, Amphitheatres, Cirques, Naumachia's, and Arena's, were all Places of a large Extent with great Inclosures; 'tis pretended that some of them could hold Two or Three Hundred Thousand Souls all sitting, but 'tis a Story. *Lipsius* says only about One Hundred Thousand, some *English* Authors say Two Hundred

dred and Fifty Thousand: There were Six or Seven Naumachia's, Eleven Amphitheatres, Seven Theatres, and Seven or Eight Cirques: All those Places had their own special Diversions, but sometimes all sorts of Plays were performed in every one of them, as *Pugiles* or Fighters at Handy-cuffs, *Cursores* or Runners, Gladiators, Wrestlers, Hunters and Killers of wild Beasts, Battles both of Foot and Horse, and Sea-fights; as also *Ludi Tauriles* or Bull-fightings, *bigarum quadrigarumque Cursus*, or Races of Carts with Two or Four Horses, as also Comedies or Plays, Buffoons, Merryandrews, Dancing, Rope-dancing, Consorts of Musick, &c. All their publick Places and Buildings had some *Area* about 'em, that is, a Court or Yard.

They had a good Number of *Luci* or Boscages consecrated to their Gods, to the Number of Thirty Two, and besides several other Woods and Groves; they had also several Places called *Sylvæ*, *Pagi*, *Villæ publicæ*.

Some do reckon Ten *Curia*, Courts of Justice, Places of Greeting, and for their Political Councils and publick

lick business of Law. Authors mention also Four Places call'd *Senatula*, where the Magistrates and Senate did meet. Note that *Lipsius*, pag. 190. does not mention any more *Fora publica in quibus Res & Lites agebantur*, Places for publick Business, than Five, viz. *Forum Romanum*, *Forum Julii*, *Forum Augusti*, *Forum Nervæ*, *Forum Trajani*, and Ten Market-places, among which there was a great Slaughter-house or *Carnificina*.

Some reckon in all Nineteen *Fora*, others Seventeen, others only Eleven.

They had several Places called *Stadia*, *Odea*, *Xisti* or *Xista*, *Rostra*; in some of which they performed their Horse and Mens Races, such were *Stadia*, altho' no body can say where they were; in the *Odea* the Musicians and Actors of the Stage did exercise themselves before they came on the Stage; the *Xisti* were some Portico's, which did serve to the Wrestlers; the *Rostra*, I suppose, did serve the young Advocates and Rhetoricians to exercise themselves in, before they durst appear in the Courts of Justice or other Assemblies.

Authors



Authors say there were Four *O-dea* in the Town.

There were Two *Colosses*, as also Two *Columnæ Cochlides*.

All their Conduits or Aqueducts, Obelisks, Pyramids, Columns, triumphal Arches, and Statues, had every one of them an empty Space before it, for the Spectators to consider of them.

They had also a great many Statues in the Streets, which did encumber them, but the Emperor *Claudius* order'd part of them to be remov'd.

They had several publick Walks in the Town.

There were some *Hippodromus*, where they did exercise their Horses, as *Hippodromus Aureliana*, &c.

Some Learned Men had great and fine Houses, Gardens and Orchards in the Town, as *Lucanus*, *Salustius*, *Ovidius*, *Terentius*, *Seneca*, &c. *Horti & Circus Salustii*, *Domus Laterani*, *Horti Mecenatis*, *Horti Getæ*, *Horti Caesaris*, *Armilustrum*.

They had also many fine Mausoleums in the Town, which were all inclosed and isled with Courts or Yards about them, but the most part of their *Mausoleums* were without

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the Gates of the City, on the Sides of the High-ways.

There were several Places distant from Temples which were call'd Altars, as *Ara Mercurii*, *Ara Jovis*, &c. as also Thirty Four *Jani*, or Figures of *Janus*, in all the Parts of the Town.

Authors tell us also that under the Emperors there were Twenty Eight publick Libraries, (some say only Nineteen) Six great Obelisks, and Forty Two little Ones.

They had Two Capitols, the Old and the new; and Thirty Six Triumphal Arches of Marble.

In several Corners of the Town they had some great Figures of Horses, some of Brass gilded over, *Equi ænei inaurati*, Twenty Four in number, some say Eighty Four; some of Ivory, *Equi eburnei*, Ninety Four in number, some say One Hundred Twenty Four; and some call'd *Equi magni*, or great Horses, Twenty Three in number.

They had, besides their Cirques and Theatres, several other Places for their Gladiators, such as were called *Ludus Mamertinus*, *Ludus magnus*,

*nus, Ludus Dacicus, Ludus Æmilius, Ludus Gallicus, Ludus Matutinus, &c.*

Several Places call'd *Nymphæa*, to the Number of Fifteen; *Piscinæ publicæ*; I doubt these last were some Ponds to learn Swimming; the *Nymphæa* were some publick Houses for Feasting, as in Weddings, &c.

Some also reckon Twenty, others Twenty Four Waters, *Aquæ*; all which were Conduits of Water.

There were Two *Septizoniums Severi*, and One of *Titus*. There was *Moles Trajani, Moles Adriani*, as Two great and stately Castles with Piazza's about them.

*Pliny* reckon'd, as we have already said, Two Hundred and Thirteen Streets, *Panvinus* does not reckon above Two Hundred Ten, *Victor* Four Hundred Twenty Four.

These Two last reckon'd Eleven *Castra* or Camps, and Seventeen Fields.

*Panvinus* speaks of 329 Ovens, as I said before.

*Olympiodorus* says that there were 46602 Islands, or small Houses in Rome, to which *Victor* agrees; but

*Panvinus* says only Forty One Thousand and some Hundreds. *Lipsius* owns that there were no more than 46602, as already said.

'Tis thought that the Number of Houses diminish'd after *Nero's* burning of the City, because they made of several small Houses but One, wherein several Families liv'd upon the Ground-floor.

*Tacitus* tells us that the whole City was not burnt, but only part of it: *Rome*, says he, is divided into Fourteen Parts call'd Regions, Four were left intire, Three quite destroyed, and as for the other Seven, there were but few Houses left, all shatter'd and half burnt.

*Quippe in Regionibus 14 Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integra manebant, tres solo tenuis dejecta, septem reliquis paucis tectorum vestigia supererant lacera & semivivida.*

Their *Horrea* or Granaries for Corn did also take up a great Room, they were numerous. I believe there was One in almost every Street, to the number of 276; they were also ordered to keep things deposited.

I spoke already of their Mills, they were also very numerous, since there were some in all the Parts of the Town, proportionably to the Numbers of the People.

There



There are many other Places mention'd in History whereof no account can be given, as are these, *Scholæ, Lavacrum Agrippinæ, Thermae Notati, Nymphaeum Alexandri, Severi Septa, Agrippinæ Crypta, Balbi septa, Carceres, Stadium, Stagnum Agrippæ, Prata Flaminia, Buxeta, Sylva Cæsaris, Auguratorium, Prata Bacchi.*

Their *Campus Martius* must needs have been a very large Place, since their Authors tell us that Three or Four Hundred Thousand Men have been muster'd there at a time, *viz.* all the Men fit for Soldiers in the Thirty Five Tribes; every Tribe was divided there into its Centuries both of Horse and Foot, and every Century was divided from the other by a little Inclosure call'd *Septum* or *Ovile*, from whence every Man was muster'd one after another, being examined by the Censors, who question'd 'em about their Fortune and Estate, the Number of their Family, their Horses and Arms, their Age, their Services: That Place must certainly have been very large.

## A Comparison between

Besides that Field of *Mars*, or *Campus Martius*, whereon the Popes have since built what they call *Leonina Urbs*, by the Name of one *Leon* who began it, there were several others empty and without Buildings, to the number of about Twenty, viz. *Campus Horatiorum*, *Ridiculi*, *Vulcani*, *Jovis*, *Licinii*, *Campus Scele-ratus*, where the Criminals were punished, *Campus Martialis*, *Esquilinus*, *Brytianus*, *Codetanus*, *Octavius*, *Fecuarius*, *Lanatarius*, *Viminalis*, *Agrippæ*, *Vaticanus*, *Figulinus*, *Agonius*, *Floræ*, *Trigeminorum*, *Cælimontanus*, *Furinarum*, and some others.

There were also, besides the Fields, Ten or Eleven Places, called *Castra* or Camps, as *Castra Misenatium*, *Castra Leticariorum*, *Castra Peregrina*, *Castra Vittimariorum*, *Castra Gyptiana*, *Castra Salgamatiorum*, *Castra Vetera*, *Castra Silicariorum*, *Castra Tabellariorum*, *Castra Prætoria*, *Castra Equitum singulorum*, &c.

Some ancient Authors tell us that there were Twenty Gates, others say Thirty, or Thirty Four, or Thirty Seven.

Some

Some reckon Twenty Nine Highways, others more.

Some reckon Seven Bridges, others Eight. As also 734 Towers about the Walls of the Town for its Defence. But these three last Articles do not concern our Subject, which is the *Vacuum* or Emptiness of Old *Rome*.

So that we may easily perceive *Rome* was not very full of Houses.

But before I leave this Head I must take notice that some think the Forty Five Stews or Bawdy-houses, *Lupanaria*, were also Publick Buildings, because those Authors mention them as well as the publick Latrines or Houses of Office, otherwise they say it was impossible to know precisely all the private Houses that were such; and that it seems they should have been in greater Number, because they are more numerous among us. I shall not pretend to decide this Point, altho' I believe the *Romans* were a great deal chaster than we are, for several Reasons. First, Because the Discipline was more exact among them. Secondly, Their People were oblig'd to marry by their Laws, I mean

mean the Men, and those who were so were sooner admitted to Preference than others; and I find that unmarried Men, and even Soldiers, were cashier'd at the time of the *Census* or Review. Now the better sort of the People did all profess the Military Art, tho' they were able to exercise all sorts of Civil Affairs also. Thirdly, They did not feed so high as we do, being more frugal and sober. Fourthly, They were not so easie or rich. Fifthly, I find in their Authors that Men could kill their Wives when drunk or taken in Adultery, or when they had robbed 'em; so that to be sure those Women took great Precaution, *Si non casta saltem cautæ*; and as for the Free-born unmarried Women, which we call Maids, they put 'em to Death when guilty of Whoring; or at least it was a Maxim amongst 'em that they deserv'd it, as we see by *Horatius*, saying *Virginum culpæ levis una mors est*, that is to say, Death is too little a Punishment for a Free-born Maid who commits Fornication. Sixthly, We have seen that they did not allow Women of honest Families to converse



verse with Men, and there was a Law against it; and I believe that those Forty Five Bawdy-houses were only of Female Slaves, and were tolerated only for the use of Men Slaves, or the worst sort of Men. We find in *Horace* several Names of such lewd Women, whereof he takes notice; they were Slaves for the most part, those *Lydias, Licias, Chloes, Pholoes, Amarillis, Barines, Lalages, Phillides, Glyceras, &c.* were all Slaves; *Serva Bryseis niveo colore movit Achillem.* But I will not be too positive in that matter, and shall not oppose but that these Forty Five Bawdy-houses have been as big and as full of Women as the Popish Nunneries are. Seventhly, I read also in their Authors, that when One of their Vestals, who were but Six in number, had been found in fault in that respect, she was by the Law burned alive.

If any one ask where those Three or Four Hundred Thousand Men did lodge at the time of their Lustres or Reviews, if there were but about Fifty Thousand Houses, I answer, This Objection is no more against me,

me, than againſt their own Authors, who were contemporary, and ſay that there were no more Houſes than I ſaid, and no more Streets, which is alſo believ'd by their modern Authors, as *Nardini*, *Bocchi*, and *Lipſius*. The ſame Queſtion may be raiſed againſt the modern Relations concerning the Carnival of *Venice*, at which time there is a prodigious Concourse of People from all Parts; but eſpecially againſt what is generally reported of Modern *Rome*, which perhaps has not the half or the third part of the Houſes the Old had. It was publiſh'd by all the News Papers not long ago, that there were in the time of their Spiritual Fair or Jubilee about a Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Strangers; ſo that I may ask in my turn, Where did all thoſe Men lodge? And I have ſo much the more Reaſon to ask it, becauſe theſe did lye in Houſes and Beds, whereas Soldiers did lye under the Sky, *ſub dio*, generally, and thoſe *Lustra* or *Cenſus* were made in Summer, ſo that undoubtedly they did for the moſt part lye in the Fields, either in the City or out of it, and appeared in the  
Camp

Camp of *Mars* at the appointed time; they us'd Tents then as we do, and these *Lustres* did hold only once in Five Years, so that great Preparations no doubt were made for them against that time, as we do in our Fairs, and as is done at *Rome* for their Jubilee.

We have seen also that there were many other empty Fields in *Rome*, wherein those Soldiers might encamp under their Tents.

What is said concerning their *Lustres*, holds also as to their *Comitia*, either *Tributa*, or *Curiata*, or *Centuriata*, which were an Assembly or Meeting of all the States of their Thirty Five Tribes, or only of the Senators, or of some of their Centuries; those Assemblies were nothing near so numerous as the Meeting of the Soldiers at their *Lustres*, so that they could easily find Lodgings in *Rome*.

One thing did hinder a great many People from coming to *Rome* to see the fine Plays and Shews, which is, that they did imitate them in the Provinces, where they had also their Theatres, Cirques and Gladiators, and all

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all the other Spectacles, tho' not so magnificent as at *Rome*.

HERE follows an Epitome of Old *Rome*, taken out of *Publius Victor*, *Panvinus*, and other Authors.

*Regio I.*

Vici 10.  
 Ædiculæ 10.  
 Vicomagistri 48.  
 Curatores 2.  
 Insulæ tria millia 250.  
 Domus 250.  
 Horrea 12.  
 Balnea 86.  
 Lacus 84.  
 Pistrina 20.

*Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 12272.*

*Regio II.*

Vici 6.  
 Ædiculæ 7.  
 Vicomagistri 48.  
 Curatores 2.  
 Insulæ 3600.  
 Domus 124.  
 Horrea 14.  
 Balnea 32.  
 Lacus 42.

Pi-



Pistrina 12.

*Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 12300.*

*Regio III.*

Vici 12.

Ædiculæ 12.

Vicomagistri 49.

Curatores 2.

Insulæ 2757.

Domus 60.

Horrea 14.

Balnea 80.

Lacus 65.

Pistrina 16.

*Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 12950.*

*Regio IV.*

Vici 8.

Ædiculæ 8.

Vicomagistri 48.

Curatores 2.

Insulæ 2757.

Domus 88.

Horrea 18.

Balnea 75.

Lacus 86.

Pistrina 12.

*Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 13000;*

*alias 14000.*

*Re-*

*A Comparison between**Regio V.*

Vici 19.

Ædiculæ 15.

Vicomagistri 40.

Curatores 2.

Insulæ 3850.

Domus 180.

Horrea 22.

Balnea 75.

Lacus 74.

Pistrina 19.

*Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 15900.**Regio VI.*

Vici 17.

Ædiculæ 17.

Vicomagistri 18.

Curatores 2.

Insulæ 3043.

Domus 146.

Horrea 17.

Balnea 85.

Lacus 72.

Pistrina 16.

*Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 15600.**Regio VII.*

Vici 15.

Ædiculæ 15.

Vicomagistri 40.

Cu-

Curatores 2.

Insulæ 3085.

Domus 130.

Horrea 25.

Balnea 75.

Lacus 76.

Pistrina 15.

*Regio continet in Circuitu Pedes 13700*

**Regio VIII.**

Vici 34.

Ædiculæ 29.

Vicomagistri 46.

Curatores 2.

Insulæ 3880.

Domus 13.

Horrea 18.

Balnea 83.

Lacus 120.

Pistrina 20.

*Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 12877.*

**Regio IX.**

Vici 35.

Ædiculæ 31.

Vicomagistri 48.

Curatores 2.

Insulæ 2774.

Domus 120.

Horrea 22.

L

Balnea

Balnea 65.

Lacus 63.

Pistrina 20.

*Regio habet in Ambitu Pedes 30500.**Regio X.*

Vici 20.

Ædiculæ 20.

Vicomagistri 40.

Curatores 12.

Insulæ 2504.

Domus 88.

Horrea 40.

Balnea 14.

Lacus 89.

Pistrina 20.

*Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 11600,  
alias 12600.**Regio XI.*

Vici 18.

Ædiculæ 19.

Vicomagistri 19.

Curatores 2.

Insulæ 2600.

Domus 80.

Horrea 16.

Balnea 15.

Lacus 20.

Pistrina 15.

*Regio*



Regio XII.

Vici 14.  
 Ædiculæ 17.  
 Vicomagistri 49.  
 Curatores 2.  
 Insulæ 2487.  
 Domus 114.  
 Horrea 17.  
 Balnea 63.  
 Lacus 81.  
 Pistrina 20.

*Regio habet in Ambitu Pedes 12000.*

Regio XIII.

Vici 18.  
 Ædiculæ 17.  
 Vicomagistri 48.  
 Curatores 2.  
 Insulæ 2487.  
 Domus 130.  
 Horrea 25.  
 Balnea 64.  
 Lacus 88.  
 Pistrina 20.

*Continet Pedes in Ambitu 16200.*

Regio XIV.

Vici 78.  
 Ædiculæ 78.  
 Vicomagistri 48.  
 Curatores 3

Insulæ

Insulæ 4405.

Domus 150.

Horrea 22.

Balnea 86.

Lacus 80.

Pistrina 23.

*Regio in Ambitu habet Pedes* 36438.

So that 'tis plain by this Epitome of Old *Rome*, and by all the Reasons before alledged, that Old *Rome* could not be so populous as *Lipsius*, *Vossius*, and many other Authors would have it; and that *London* does much surpass it both in Extent and Multitude of People, &c

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## C H A P. III.

*The Beauties and Advantages of Old Rome and London Compared together.*

8. **T**HE Learned have been so generally possess'd with an erroneous Opinion of the *Beauties* and *Glories* (as they are pleas'd to speak) of *Old Rome*, that I find my self obliged to confute their Error, by shewing briefly, That the pretended *Beauties* of *Old Rome* were not Comparable to those of *London*, as it is at present.

'Tis granted, that *Old Rome*, in the Emperor's Time, was Incomparable in the Magnificence of her publick Buildings of all Sorts, and the great Number of 'em; which was occasion'd by a noble Emulation among the said Emperors, to signalize themselves by erecting some glorious Edifice, and their Endeavours to Out-do each other therein. This publick Spirit was in *Rome*, even before the time of its Emperors, there being now and then some Illustrious Patriot that adorn'd it with some noble Structure at his own Charge. But it does not appear to have been so predominant when *Rome* was a Republick, as under the Emperors; whether for want of Power, or for want of Artists, I shall not determine. Historians, however, attribute to King *Tarquinius Priscus* the seven great Cloacas, or Sewers, call'd by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, *Operum Omnium Maximum*, the greatest Work of all. The Beginning of the *Capitol* is likewise attributed to *Numa*, and the *Pantheon* to *Agrippa*, Son in Law to *Augustus*, during his Consulship, &c.

But, after the Overthrow of the Commonwealth, when the Emperors assumed the Government,

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vernment, the City began to flourish more and more in publick Edifices, with all the Arts of Greece. For, as the Poet says,

*Græcia capta feram Victorem cepit, & Artes  
Intulit agresti Latio, &c.*

Each Emperor bestowed a Part of the Publick Revenue in adorning *Rome* with Magnificent Buildings, which before *Augustus's* Time had scarce any thing to Recommend it to the World.

'Tis almost Incredible, how it improved in noble and publick Structures, such as *Temples, Theaters, Obelisks, Cirques, Thermes, Porticos, Columns, &c.* in the space of 200 Years after the Emperors begun to sway over that vast Empire. And their Number increas'd continually, till the Seat of the Empire was transferr'd to *Constantinople*.

My Design therefore is not to compare *London* to *Old Rome* in that Point. But I dare aver, That all the *Beauties* of *Old Rome*, taken altogether, were not Comparable to the noble Sight of so many Hundreds of Ships and Boats that swarm in our *Thames*, such a Prospect as never was in *Rome's* Power to afford. A *Beauty* not only useful and lasting, but also comfortable and delighting; producing daily new Profits and Delights, and presenting continually to the Eyes and Mind of the Spectators Plenty of all desirable Things. It offers likewise to the Mind a solid and lasting Grandure. Whereas all the fine Structures of *Rome* were most expensive, but barren and useless Things, subject to Decay, and empty Shews of human impotent Pride.

How delightful is it to go in Summer-time in Boats, with so much ease and so little Charge, from one end of this vast City of *London* to the other; and how convenient, to carry Goods at

so



so cheap a Rate? To go 10 or 12 Miles up and down this noble River to a great many fine Places upon it, by the favour of it's Flux and Reflux. And to see from Greenwich, Deptford, and Blackwall, so many Ships sailing with a full Sail daily up and down this rich River.

Whereas the Tyber, a little, nasty, and malignant River, upon which Rome is seated, would rather turn the Stomach of any Man accustomed to the Limpidity and gentle Stream of the Thames. And therefore St. Amand, a famous French Poet, compares the Water of the Tyber to the Filth and Putrefaction that runs out of an Ulcer. And another has made these comical Verses upon it, in reference to it's mischievous Violence and frequent Innundations.

*C'est bien à vous, Monsieur le Tibre  
De faire ainsi tant de façon,  
Vous dans qui un petit Poisson  
Trouve à peine un Mouvement libre.*

That is to say, you have little Reason, Mr. Tyber, to brag and bluster as you do. You in whom the least Fish can hardly have a free Motion.

Nor was it possible for Old Rome, with all it's noble Edifices, to be a fine City, comparatively to London; considering it's narrow and crooked Streets, the sorry Wooden-Houses of the generality of the People, which were but one Story high, it's Mounts and little Hills, and the meanness of the Tyber running through it.

It could not be a healthful Place, by it's Situation, the greatest Part of the City standing in a Bottom, and it's noisom River overflowing it, to the ruin of many Houses, and even of great Temples, as History tells us. It stood, as it does now, in a barren Ground, some part Hills, but the greatest part Vallies, with Fields to the Southward, and the Air something gross, as the greatest

\* Admirers

Geo. Fabricius, p. 256. Admirers of *Rome* tell us themselves, and the adjacent Country full of Marshy Grounds, called in Latin, *Lacuna*.

Whereas *London* enjoy's a good Air, and has a fine Prospect on all sides; the Ground upon which it stands being in most places like the Back of an Ass. By which Situation it has on one side the Prospect of a noble River, with a fine open Country, full of Meadows, Gardens, Trees, and Houses, yeilding great Variety of delightful Objects. And on the other, delicate Fields and Meadows, of the finest Green in the World; with abundance of large and neat Villages, at a small Distance from each other, and pleasant Walks to 'em, affording the Comfort of a sweet and delicate Air.

The ancient Authors take no Notice of the Walks of *Old Rome*, which makes it questionable, whether they were such as we have about *London* in almost all the Parts adjacent to the Town; particularly in *St. James's-Park*, *Hide-Park*, and in many publick Places within the City.

The Streets of *London*, and the Cross-Ways thereof, are another Beauty beyond that of *Old Rome*. The first are generally of a good Length and Breadth most of 'em in a strait Line, especially in the new Buildings, that have been Erected within these 50 Years last past; which comprehends three Parts in four of *London* and *Westminster*, within the Bills of Mortality. The Houses therein generally 4 or 5 Stories High, some of 'em more, including that which is under Ground and is Inhabited; being large and convenient Houses, Uniform, and many of 'em Stately.

The Cross-Ways are no where to be paralleled, both for their Number and Handsomness, and I am sure *Old Rome* could afford no such thing. There are fine Cross-Ways in *London* and *West-*

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*minster*, which may be called *Septivia*, as consisting of 7 Branches, and some of 9 Branches, but there are a great many *Quatrvia* and *Trivia*, that is to say, of 4 and 3 Branches that are Incomparable; which is to be ascribed to the Breadth, Length, and Straitness of our Streets, with the Uniformity and Handsomness of the Buildings.

Of the first sort is the *Cross-Way* called the *Seven Streets*, with a Pyramid in the Center, in *St. Giles's Parish*. And another not far from it, and near the *Grey-hound Coffee-House*, formed by 9 different Streets, viz. *Grafton*, *Manmouth*, and *Moore-Streets*, *Hog-Lane*, *King-Street*, *Church-Street*, *West-Street*, *Browns-Garden*, *St. Andrews-Street*. 'Tis observable, that several Coaches can ride a-breast in every one of them, and that from the very *Cross-Way*, one may see into 5 or 6 other Streets near it.

The finest *Cross-Ways*, of four Branches, are, one at the lower end of *Fleet-street*, where *Fleet-Bridge* stands. Another in the Middle of *Cheapside*, over against *Guild-Hall*. A third in *Cornhill*, one Way leading to *Bishopsgate*, another to *Aldgate*, the third to *London-Bridge*, and the fourth to the *Royal-Exchange*. And, at the upper end of *St. James-street*, another, &c.

Of three Branches, a fine one is to be found at the lower end of the *Hay-Market*, another at *Charing-Cross*, a third in *Holbourn* over against *Hatton-Garden*, very broad, and some of the Branches very long, a fourth at the lower end of *St. James-Street*, and another at the upper end of *Longacre*, which cuts *Drury-Lane* in two and might easily be made a noble *Quatrvivium*, by adding *Great Queen-street* to it. To which purpose, 'twere but pulling down a Couple of Houses, which make the Coming into the Street on the side of *Drury-lane* very Inconvenient to  
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Carts and Coaches, and dangerous to Passengers. A great many such other *Accommodations* might be made in this City, at a small Expence, which would be convenient for Trade, and very Ornamental.

I pass by a great many other considerable *Cross-Ways*, some of 'em very fine, and others not unworthy being taken Notice of.

Tho' the *Romans* had many great and Curious *Edifices*, I question whether they had any of their *Temples* so Stately as *St. Paul's Cathedral* at *London*. I am confident, the best of 'em never cost half so much Building, their publick Structures being generally raised by their Slaves.

Nor had the *Old Romans* the Satisfaction to see Thousands of fine *Coaches* run along their Streets, as we see in *London*. Or their Streets so full of *People* well clad, especially *Women*, who had not the liberty at *Rome* to appear abroad in the Streets. If the Narrow Streets of *Old Rome* were full of *People*, 'twas chiefly of poor *Slaves*, very ill Kept by their Masters. Whereas at *London* the common *People*, and even *Servants*, are better clothed and fed, than the *Roman Senators* and *Knights*, for the generality.

\* p. 208. *Quod si Nuptia, Festivitas, aut latius Convivium esset pro Magno paucis Pisciculi, & Porcina aliquot pondo. Similis in Vestibus frugalitas, & omnium ditium pauperumque, è lanâ, atque è annati & albidiorum Coloris, nisi quod ditiorum splendentes paulò magis & nitida à suttoniâ arte essent. Nam Sericum, & ipsa Linthea, serò innotuerunt, & rimide etiam in usum paucorum venerunt.*

The *Markets* at *Rome* were neither so Numerous, nor so well Stocked, as ours. 'Tis well Known, the *Romans* were very frugal, Feasting themselves only with some small Fish, or Pork; and for many Ages they lived most upon *Pap*, as has been observed already. Their *Cibaria Leges* afore-mentioned, are a proof of what I say. And had they had at *Rome* such Number of Feasting *People* as we have at *London*, where Excesses and extravagant Expences upon that Score are but too frequent, they must have paid Yearly vast Fines to the Common-wealth.

The great Admirers of *Old Rome* must be very much to seek, before they can find in it so many Thousands of large and rich *Shops*, adorn'd with handsome costly Signs, and stocked with all sorts of Goods both Foreign and Domestick, as we have in *London*; or such *Store-Houses* of all kind of Wares, or Commodities. The *Romans* of *Old* wore nothing generally but Course Woollen-Cloth, and the *Senators* distinguished themselves only by wearing of Milled Cloth, as \* *Lipsius* himself tells us.

'Tis



true, they had many publick and private *Baths*, which made the greatest and most Universal Diversion of that City, both in Winter and Summer. Some were hot, and others cold *Baths*, being used to wash themselves often, not only for the Heat of the Country, but chiefly because they wore but little Linnen. Whereas *London* affords abundance of Diversions, far better than theirs. The Conveniency alone of our *Coffee* and *Chocolate-Houses* go's beyond all the common Diversions they had at *Rome*.

The *Old Romans*, and all their Authors, admir'd any thing they had at *Rome*, tho' never so despicable. They knew no City comparable to theirs, in their Time. They had taken great care to ruin and destroy all the *Great Cities* they had Conquered; but Worshipped *Rome*, under the Name of *Roma eterna*, and Dedicated a Temple to that Foolish Deity. *Rome*, a contemptible Place in all respects, except its publick Buildings, and its being become, by the Caprice of Fortune, the Seat of the most powerful Empire that ever was. Which is the more to be wondered at, it being very unusual with Nations to chuse a Place destitute of all the Advantages of Nature, such as are a good River, or Sea-Port, a fruitful Soil, or good Air, to be the Seat of their Empire. And yet 'tis most certain, that *Rome* had none of all these Advantages.

But the *Romans* were so infatuated as even to admire their *Tyber*, a wretched River. Their Authors speak of it at least very respectfully, calling it generally, *Tyberis ille Pater*, the Father *Tyber*. And 'tis observable, that upon a Motion made to the Senate to divide its Course, in order to prevent the Mischievous Consequence of its frequent Overflowing, the Motion was rejected, *Ne minori gloria fluaret*, says *Tacitus*, lest the Glory of the *Tyber* should be lessen'd by it. But the Gentleness of its Stream, pretended by *Virgil* himself in these his Words, *leni agmine fluit*, is such a notorious Falshood as deserves to be hissed at, the *Tyber* being well known to be a mischievous and troublesome River by its Rapidity. Which is sufficient to possess all Men against those Flattering Authors and their Followers, that are so great admirers of *Old Rome*.

A City that must have been a very Melancholy Place of itself, nor would any Man of Fashion have lived in it, but for its Artificial Beauties and Conveniencies; which as they could not make amends for, or correct the Deficiencies of Nature, so they are not comparable to the Natural Beauties and Advantages which London enjoy's. Nor could all the Art of Rome make its Inhabitants as Rich as the Londoners are.

Now great Part of the Beauties, Ornaments, and Delights of London are owing to the Wealth of its Citizens. As for Example, there are in London about 20000 good Houses, fit one with another to Lodge a Gentleman of 1000*l.* sterling Revenue, with a competent Retinue, suitable to Persons of that Substance. Whereas Historians tell us of only 1800 *Domus*, or dwelling Houses, of such sort of People in Old Rome, I mean of Senators or Knights, who were not (generally speaking) so Rich one with another as most of our Citizens. For any Man was fit for a Senator, who had but an Estate worth 30000 Crowns; or for a Knight that had an Estate worth 12000 Crowns, (as *Bocchi* tells us) that is about 3000

\* *Bocchi* p. Pounds sterling \* which is confirmed by *Lipsius* and *Georgius Fabricius*. The other Houses of Rome were very mean.

93. *Di 30 mila Scudi dove-vea aspero il vassente de Senatori Romani, e de Cavallieri, come Dignita mezzana tra la Plebe e i Senatori, di 12 mila.* 'Tis also to be attributed both to the Wealth and Number of our Citizens, that our Market-Places are so numerous, so large, and well furnished with all sorts of Provisions, both for Necessity and Delight. That we have so many stately Taverns, Chocolate and Coffee-Houses, and Cooks-Shops; the Streets so fine, and in a perpetual hurry of Carts and Coaches; Shops, and Store-Houses, so well stocked, Houses so well furnished, and so many Ships in the River. That we have so many stately Inns of Lawyers, such an Exchange, and such a Custom-House, the great Convenience of Hackney-Coaches and Postage by the General Post and the Penny-Post-Offices, that People make so good an Appearance in the Streets, no Slaves, or Starved People.

Whereas the People of Rome were generally Idle, having little to do, for want of Trade and Manufactures.

factures. Therefore, to amuse the People, and draw in Strangers, the Government was fain to invent and practice so many Shews, Spectacles, and Diversions, besides the other artificial Ornaments of the City.

The *Modern Rome*, labouring under the same natural Disadvantages, would be a Desert, were it not for her Invasions, and Incroachments upon Peoples Consciences, for her Spiritual Commerce of Religious Toys and Trinkets, and for the pious Cheats and Impostures of her Religion. Which Trade is driven by the Pope in chief, and the Cardinals, his principal Factors, who found the Way to get the Treasures of many ignorant and credulous Nations, by *Bulls* and *Indulgences*, *Relicks* and *Agnus Dei*, &c. By which sublimated Priest-Craft, the Pope has made himself a very powerful Prince, raised himself above Crowned Heads, and sways over a great many Nations, imposing such Laws upon them as conduce most to his Interest, and making himself (under Colour of Religion) the Head of a vast Empire. Whose very Servants, the Cardinals, compare themselves to the Sovereigns of other Nations. And such is the Stupidity among the Popish Princes, as patiently to suffer so great an Indignity, and rather than punish their Insolencies, submit to their monstrous Pretensions, and even allow them Pensions to be Protected by them against the Pope's Displeasure. Whence the Cardinals got the Title of Protectors, some of *France*, others of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Poland*, &c.

This Spiritual (but Piratick) Trade keeps up the Grandeur of *Modern Rome*, as the Depredations of War supported the Greatness of *Old Rome*. Thus the *Modern* has succeeded the *Old*, if not in Valour and Military Vertue, at least in her pious Cheats, but with greater Tyranny and less Generosity. For this Inslaves both Body and Soul to the most abject Servitude, besides the great Tributes in Money she extorts from 'em by the most Villanous Practices. But *Modern Rome* would be nevertheless in a drooping Condition, were it not for her stately Buildings, for her fine Temples Consecrated also to false Deities, and the fine Musick therein, for her Pictures, Statues, and the fine Houses and Gardens of Cardinals, and o-  
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thers; but especially for the Privilege of *Whoring*, and *something worse*, allowed by Authority. Thus many People of Quality of all Nations of *Europe*, and even Sovereign Princes, are tempted to go to *Rome*, where they spend vast Sums of Money, and with much Carelessing they are brought to Kiss the Pope's Toe. Which that Court looks upon as an Homage paid to the Pope as Vicar of Christ, and to His Holiness as the Head of the Christian Church.

Travellers, being thus deluded and intoxicated with *Roman Debaucheries*, can hardly indure afterwards the Principles of Christianity, run themselves easily into *Atheism*, as most consistent with Looseness and Libertinism, and so live without Religion all the residue of their Lives. Hence the Proverb, so common even among French Papists, *Jamais bon Cheval, ni mechant Homme, n'amenda pour aller a Rome*, No good Horse, or bad Man, ever grew better with going to *Rome*.

Thus, by the Vices and Delights of *Modern Rome*, 'tis always full of Nobility and Gentry of Foreign Countries. Who being allured by the Spiritual and Corporal Fortification of that City, spend vast Treasures in it; all which center into the Pope's Coffers, by the many exorbitant Impositions he lay's upon any Thing, even upon Prostitutes, and serves to Keep up the Splendor of *Modern Rome*, tho' much short of that of *London*. Where both the Multitude and Riches of the People may be counted another *Beauty*, such as neither the *Old*, nor *Modern Rome*, did ever come near.

I shall not insist any longer upon the *Parallel* between the true Beauties and honest Delights of *Old Rome* and *London*, it being plain enough by what is said already, that *London* far exceeds *Rome* in those Things, as well as in it's *Extent* and *Populousness*.

FINIS.

## ERRATA.

PAGE 18. Line 19. for *Meotis*, read *Marotto*. p. 18. l. 21. f. *Montferrat*, r. *Piemont*. p. 56. l. 9. and 10. f. *Eight* or *Nine*, r. *Eleven* or *Twelve*. p. 58. l. 18, and 19. dele *or Flaminia*. p. 82. in the Margin, f. *Tempore*, r. *Tempora*. p. 85. l. 1. after *another*, add *Supported by several Rows of Columns*. p. 129. l. 29. f. *Greeting*, r. *Meeting*. p. 133. l. 13. and 14. f. *Severi*, r. *One of Severus*. p. 135. l. 5. f. *Norati*, r. *Novati*.



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